

THE
HISTORY
OF
POLYBIUS
THE
MEGELAPOLITAN.
Containing a
General Account
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WORLD.

With a Character of *Polybius*, by Mr. Dryden.

V O L. III.

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POLYBIDS

General History

OF THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WORLD.

VOL. III. BOOK VI.

By another Hand.

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HE that treats about the *Republics* of the *Gracians*, which rising of a sudden, were as soon destroy'd, and suffer'd a contrary Change of their former Fortune, will find it easie to give a Judgment of

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the time to come, by representing what is past already. For every one having a natural Inclination to speak what he knows, it is not difficult to foretel the future, by Conjectures drawn from what has past before. — But for the Roman Commonwealth it is impossible to take a View of its present State, because of the Diversities that are therein, or foretell any thing in the future, because it cannot be understood either by the general or particular Inclinations of the People. It is therefore necessary to make an exact Enquiry, or a particular Search, if we would understand the fine and excellent Qualities, in which this Republick differs from all others. But since those which treat of this Matter with any Art or Method, propose three Forms of Republicks or States, whereof one is called Kingly Government, the other Aristocracy, and the third Democracy. I suppose I may with Reason enquire whether they speak of these three sorts of Republicks, as if there were no other, or as if these were better than any. For my part I think they do equally deceive themselves both in the one and the other, since it is apparent that the best Form of a Republick is that which is composed of all the Three. Reason does not only confirm the Truth of this, but Custom and Experience also; And Lycurgus establish the

Lacedæmonian Republick after this Model. We must confess that there are other sorts of Estates besides, as *Monarchies* and *Tyrannies*; which, tho they seem to have in them something like to *Kingly Government*, are yet entirely different; and therefore all those which reign alone, usurp the Title of King as much as lies in their Power. There are besides certain *Republicks* who are govern'd by a few, and in Appearance resemble those, where the best Men of Estates govern, and yet to speak in a word, are very distant from it; and the same may be said concerning *Democracy*, or the Government of the People.

We shall find by the Particulars which follow, that what is here asserted is nothing but Truth; but we ought not to believe that the Government where one or a few Command, ought to be called *Kingly Government*, but that only which is given voluntarily, and where the Authority is not so much obtain'd by Fear or Force, as by Reason & Consent. Nor ought we to believe that the Name of *Aristocracy* should be given to that Government, where a few Persons rule all; but to that only where the wisest have the Authority, in consequence of a prudent and regular Election. Nor ought we to give the Name of a *Popular Estate*, or the Go-

a full Satisfaction to those Doubts, that may now be made. To what then are we to attribute the Beginnings of Civil Societies? And from whence shall we derive their first Original? As often as Men perish'd, either by Inundations, Plagues, or the Sterility of the Earth, which had not only happen'd already, but were likely to happen often; their whole Discipline, Customs, and Constitutions, perish'd with them. But when from their Seed, by Succession of time, a Multitude was sprung up, they did as Beasts do, assemble together in Herds and Flocks of each Species, and so strengthen the Efficacy of their Nature, by coming all into one Body. And afterwards, they who were superiour to others by Courage or Strength of Body, obtain'd Power and Command over others. And since we see the same in other Animals, who are not govern'd by Opinion, but the Instinct of pure Nature, we ought to esteem it no otherwise than as the Work of Nature it self. In short, the most stout and robust among them; as Bulls, Stags, Wolves, serve them for Conductors and Leaders, and 'tis most probable that Men at first did the same thing when they were got together, and followed those Leaders who had most Courage, and possess'd themselves of what they were capable of effecting, which you may justly

justly call Power. But when afterwards, in Success of Time, these Assemblies became Customary, Kingly Government took its Original, and they began to understand Honesty and Justice, and those things which were contrary to them.

You see now how Republicks begun, and from whence they took their Original. As Male and Female had a Natural Inclination of Love to one another; from whence came Children; and when some of those their Parents had nourish'd and brought up did not render Reciprocal Kindness, but on the contrary, anger'd them both in Words and Actions; 'tis certain that they who saw so rude a Treatment, and knew what Pains and Care Parents had taken, grew angry also themselves. For since Man differs from other Animals by his Understanding and Reason, it is very probable he could not be indifferent to such a Disorder, and so insensible, as other Animals are in the like Case.

And 'tis certain, that all who saw it, did rigorously condemn such a Fault, being apprehensive that the same Mischiefs might befall themselves. Or if any have deliver'd another out of Danger, and instead of Benefit receiv'd, should return an Injury to him that did it, is it not certain that such a Man would incur the Anger of every Body, as an Ungrateful Person, and would

would not every Man Pity his Neighbour for barbarously used, and fear the same for themselves? From hence arose in every Mans Mind a Sense of Duty, and the beginning and end of Justice Consists in the reflection Men make upon the Force or Obligation of this Duty. *harillod A*

The same thing happens when a Person not differing from others, either in Habit or Diet, but living after the same manner, without disdain to speak to the People. And his Successors finding themselves secure with all Provisions necessary for Life, and a great deal more then they have occasion for, suffer themselves to be Transported with Passions; and the Excess of the Goods they enjoy. And this gives them ground to believe that Princes should go more richly Habited then their Subjects, and take other kinds of Pleasures, That their Table should be serv'd with greater Pomp, that prohibited Loves are permitted to them, and that none ought to contradict them. And by these and other means, having drawn upon themselves the Hatred and Aversion of the People, Kingly Government degenerates into Tyranny, and they presently begin to form Designs and Conspiracies against them that Govern. Nor are they the worst of the Citizens who fall into these Enterprises, but the most Generous and
Bold

Bold; for such they are, who are least capable to support the Injuries and Injustice of Princes; And at last, the People having found Leaders, begin also to conspire the Ruin of Kings for the fore-mentioned Reasons. When they have Abolished the Power and Dominion of one Person alone, *Aristocracy* begins, or the Government of the best or richest People; for the People immediately give away the Authority to them, and choosing them for Governours, follow their Conduct, as a Recompence for the Extermination of Tyrants. These Men concerning themselves with the Honour of having the Administration of *Publick Affairs* put into their Hands, prefer the Interest of the *Publick* above all things, and regard the concerns of it, with the same Care and Affection that they do their own *Particular Affairs*. But when their Children afterwards receiving the Power of their Parents, have neither sense of the mischief, nor Experience of the Equality, or Liberties of the Citizens, but being bred from their Youth up among the Honours of their Fathers, some abandoning themselves to Covetousness, and others to Debauchery and Villany, do at last convert the Government of an *Aristocracy* into an *Oligarchy*. That is, the Government of the best People into the hands of a few,

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and when they have stirr'd up the same Passions and Rage of the People, as against Tyrants, they perish as Tyrants.

Whensoever any Person observing the hate and aversion of the People towards them, had the Boldness to put a Check to them, either by Word or Action. The Multitude at the same time Obey'd him, and savour'd his Enterprize. But after they had kill'd some and Banish'd others, they durst not give up the Republick to the Government of a King, because they were afraid of the same Outrages they had receiv'd from the former, nor to many, because the Excesses they had been guilty of, were still fresh in their Minds. When therefore, they could hope for nothing better than themselves, they pass'd the Government out of a few into their own Hands, creating a *Democracy* or Popular Estate; And this continues as long as there remains any who are sensible of the Power of a few, and nothing is in greater Veneration among them, then the Equality or Liberty of the Citizen. But after the Death of thoe, when a new People shall arise, and *Democracy* has pass'd to their Posterity; They begin to disregard Liberty and Equality, because they are accustom'd to it, and ill Minds spare for no efforts, to obtain a Superiority over others. This Vice is very ordinary to Men

Ment of Estates, for when being ambitious after Honour, and withal unable to obtain it either of themselves or by Vertue, they fall to spend their Riches in feasting and bounty, and endeavour to Corrupt the People by that means. And after they have gained the Majority by Liberalities which they are all greedy of, and indeed feed upon, the *Democracy* begins to sink, and nothing but *Fury* and *Violence* succeeds in the place of it. For the People, being accustomed to live upon other Mens Goods, and founded their Hopes upon Rapine, having met with a Bold, and Courageous Leader, whose Poverty had hindered him from arriving at Publick Offices or Trusts, change the Popular State into one *Furious* and *Violent*, and being United into one Body, they demonstrate their Fury by Murders, Banishments, and by the Division of Lands; till such time they meet with some Body that Usurps the Sovereign Rule and Power.

Behold here the Revolution, of States and *Republicks*, Behold here the Natural Order according to which *Republicks* are Chang'd and turn'd back again into their first Being. He that can well Comprehend all this, may perhaps be Deceived as to the time, but provided

vided his Judgement is Impartial, and his Mind disinterested, he will not be much mistaken in the Prognostication of the State, he makes his Observations upon: *Viz.* Whether they are nearer to their Height, or their Ruine, and find what at last they will be Chang'd. *MA* For the *Common-Wealth* of the *Romans* we may see by this means how it was at first *Establish'd*, how afterwards *Increased*, and how it came to this most Flourishing Estate we now find it in, and at last the Change which will one day happen to *It*. For if any Republick be Establish'd and Augmented according to the Laws of Nature, it is chiefly the *Roman*, and will Change some time or other according to the same Method. But what we shall now Treat of, will afterwards give us a clear Light into the Matter.

We shall now speak something of the Laws made by *Lycurgus*, because this Discourse is not far Remote from our Design. This Great Man had Observ'd that all things happen'd by an Inevitable Law of Nature, and Judged that every Form of a *Republick* which was simple, and had no Substante but by one of these kinds, was subject to Change, because it easily falls into Vice, to which it has the most Natural Inclination. For as Rust and the Worm, are Natural to Iron and Wood,

Wood, which do Corrupt and Destroy them, so that if they cannot be Destroyed by things happening from without, they Perish nevertheless by things drawn from themselves. Even so by the Order of Nature, some Vice or other is born in the Form of every State, and always accompanys it, and is at length the occasion of its Ruine, whether it be *Kingly Government, Monarchy, Aristocracy, Oligarchy, Democracy* or the Blind and Furlous Power of the Rude Multitude. It is impossible to hinder the falling of a Commonwealth into those Vices it is Naturally addicted to, and by Consequence to hinder the Change that happens upon them, as we have already said. *Lycurgus* therefore foreseeing all this, did not Establish his Commonwealth according to one single Form, but Assembled all the Virtues and Qualities of the best sort of *Republicks* into one, to the end that every thing might be so ballanc'd by another, that when one was ready to fall into the Vice which it was most inclined to, the other should retain it at the same time; so that by this means the *Republick* being equally sustain'd, should not incline or bend to any side, but be like a Ship when the Wind equally blows upon her on both sides. The fears which their *Kings* had of the *People*, they being themselves a part of the Government in

this ~~republick~~, hinder'd them from abusing
 their Power, and the People were deter-
 red from committing any Outrage
 against their ~~Magistrates~~, by the Fear of the
 Magistrates, who always embrac'd the
 Just Party, because they were promo-
 ted into this Rank, by Virtue alone.
 And this is the Reason why the Magi-
 strates maintain'd their ancient Discipline
 in Strength and Vigor, because the Senate
 always took the weaker part, by which
 Means the Ballance quickly turn'd on
 the other side. Thus *Lycurgus* consider-
 ing both the beginning and end of things,
 laid the Foundation of the Lacedaemonian
 Commonwealth upon so true a Basis,
 that it has preserv'd its Liberty longer
 than any other has ever done.

As for the Romans, who they have
 arriv'd at the same End, in the
 establishing of their Commonwealth, they
 have not done it by the Force of Reason
 and Discourse. But by choosing that which
 seem'd to them of most Advantage; and
 being taught by their own Misfortunes,
 after many Dangers and Battels, are
 come up to the height of *Lycurgus*. They
 have settl'd the finest Form of a Com-
 monwealth that has ever been seen in
 this present time. It is the Duty of a
 good Judge to esteem Historians not by
 what they have forgot, but by what they
 have

in the world, so that if some things may be said to them which are not true, we must think it done out of Ignorance. But if there be nothing but Truth, we ought to persuade our selves, that what we find manifest, was not done by Ignorance but Reason.

The Three Forms of Republicks we have so often mention'd, Consule, or more to that of the *Romans*, and they do so much contribute therunto, and in a manner so proper and convenient to the Establishment and Administration of all things, that the *Romans* themselves cannot tell whether the *Roman* Body of their State be *Aristocracy*, *Democracy*, or *Kingly Government*. For when we cast our Eyes towards the Power of the Consuls, one would think the Power to be either *Kingly* or *Aristocracy*; When we consider the Senate, you would believe it an *Aristocracy*; and if you regard what concerns the People on their part, you would Judge it to be a *Democracy*; and the Rights and Priviledges of each Party are such, whether past or present, without any great exception.

While the Consuls are in the City they dispose of all things which concern the Publick, till such time as their Troops are in the Field. All the other Magistrats depend upon, and obey them, ex-

cept the Tribunes. They give Audience to Ambassadors in the *Senate House*; and as often as 'tis necessary to deliberate upon any Affair, it is their right to propose it, and to Execute the Ordonnances of the *Senate*. And besides, they take care of all those Publick Affairs which should be done by the People. It is their *Prerogative* to call Assemblies, and to propose what is to be Ordained, and afterwards to Establish the *Laws* according to Majority of the Peoples *Suffrages*. But besides all this, they have almost an Absolute Power in all *Affairs of War*, whether it be for Preparation, Conduct, or Expedition. They have Power to give what Orders they please to the Auxiliary Troops of their Allies, to put in Gallonels and Captains, to raise Forces, and Compose their Armies. They can punish, by their sole Authority, all those that bear Arms under them, Pay the Army, and spend what they please out of the *Publick Treasury*, and for that purpose have always a *Quæstor* along with them, who makes Prompt Payment of all their Orders. So that one may justly say, if we regard this Part of the *Republick*, that the State of the *Romans* depends entirely upon one, and that his Authority is Royal, and Emulates that of a King. But if any one of these, or those we shall mention, have been chang'd

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Some time after, or at this Day, that makes nothing at all against what we have asserted.

As for the Senate, they take care of the publick Treasure, order all the Revenues of the Empire, and all the Expences of the Publick, for the *Prætors* cannot dispose of Money, not so much as for the most common use, without an Ordinance of Senate, except it be done in the Name of the *Comitia*. The Expences of the Censors for Repair of Publick Edifices, is done by the Authority of the Senate, and they can do nothing without their Order. The Senate takes Cognizance of all the Crimes committed in *Italy*, which deserve publick Punishment, as Treasons, Conspiracies, Poisonings, Assassinations, &c. If any particular Person, or any City of *Italy*, have any Quarrel, Difference, or Controverſie, or if any want Protection or Succour, the Senate takes care of all that. If Ambassadors are to be sent out of *Italy*, whether it be to Accommodate Differences, make Remonstrances, Command in an Enterprize, or declare War, all this is in the Power and Priviledge of the Senate. When the Ambassadors of Strangers Arrive at *Rome*, it is the Office of the Senate to see their Commissions, take care of their Treatment, and to return an Answer, and the People have no Right at

all in any of these things. And therefore if any Man come to Rome, when both the *Consuls* are absent, he will immediately say, the *Roman Commonwealth* is an *Aristocracy*: And many of the *Greeks*, and some *Kings*, are of the same Opinion, because they have had no *Transactions* with the *Romans*, which have not been confirmed by the *Senate*.

These things being so, who would not have the Curiosity to understand what the People have to do in the *Commonwealth*, seeing the *Senate* has so great a Power; and the *Consuls* within the City have not only the Preparations of War in their own Hands, but are Managers of the War it self with Sovereign Authority. But notwithstanding all this the People have a great Part in the *Commonwealth*. For none but they dispose either of Rewards or Punishments, the Places or Preferences of the *Commonwealth*, and of the Lives of Men.

Those who know not the Difference of Things, or if they do, turn it into Abuse, do nothing according to Reason; for were it reasonable that both the Good and Bad should be put into the same Degrees. The People then do judge and Amerce; and when any great Punishment is to be impos'd, and chiefly upon those who exercise great Offices in the Magistracy, it is done

done by the People. Besides, there is none but they that condemn unto Death; In the Proceedings of which, the Custom of the Romans is Remarkable, and Worthy of Praise; For those who are accused of any *Capital Crime*, have Liberty while their *Process* is making to retire in the Face of the People, and go voluntarily into *Banishment*, and one of the *Tribunes* who judges of their Affairs always keeps his *Suffrage* in Reserve. Or else they may stay at *Naples*, *Praneste*, *Tivoli*, and other Cities in Alliance with the Romans, without any Punishment. And moreover the People give Honours according to every ones Merit, which is a fine Recognition of *Virtue* and *Honesty* in this *Commonwealth*. They have also Power to approve or reject the Laws proposed to them, to deliberate upon Peace and War. And whether *Alliances* are to be made, *War* finish'd, or *Treaties* set on Foot, it is in their Power either to Ratify or Break them. So that if we consider the *Commonwealth* of Rome, by the Power of the People, one may say the People have the greatest Share in the Government, and that it is a *Democracy*.

You see in what manner the *Commonwealth* of Rome is composed of the three Forms of *Republicks* we have spoken of before, we shall now shew you how each

Party succours the other, or opposeth themselves against the Enterprizes or Attempts of the other. Which the *Consul* is dependently, and gone to the War, with the Power we have already mention'd, hold like an absolute Authority; both to make and finish the War, and yet notwithstanding he has need of the Assistance both of People and Senates; for he cannot make an end of his Enterprizes, for he always has occasion for some *Legions* or other; and they cannot be sent without an Order of the Senate, as likewise neither *Provisions*, *Cloathes*, nor *Money* to pay the *Soldiers*; so that the Designs of the *Consul* cannot succeed, if the Senate either oppose themselves, or declare against them. And besides this, it depends absolutely on the Will of the Senate, whether the *General* shall execute his Enterprize or no; for when the Year is ended, they have Power either to continue him in his Office, or send a Successor. They can also exalt the Conqueror, and make him appear in greater Lustre, or humble and Abase him; and make him appear less than he is; and indeed no Body can obtain the Honour of a *Triumph*, by which the Representations of the Actions of the *General* are display'd before the People, without the Consent of the Senate, and their giving Money for that

End

End and Purpose of it Now, because the
 People have Power to bid in the Wars
 the Senate have need of their Consent to
 have all, and especially if they are in the
 same Country, on the Extremities of the
 Earth, for the People, as I told you
 before, confirming great Treasures and
 what is more considerable, when the Gov-
 ernment is off Anchorage, they must give
 an Account to them of all they have done
 in every Province, so that neither the
 Senate, nor the People, shall fall into
 Contempt, as it is said of the Senate
 yet notwithstanding the Power of the
 Senate, yet above all things in the Admi-
 nistration of the Publick, they ought to re-
 gard the People, for they cannot take Cogni-
 zance of the greatest Affairs, nor punish
 with Death those Crimes which are com-
 mitted against the State, if their Ordinances
 are not confirmed by them. The People have
 also the same Power in things which re-
 gard the Senate. For if any one propose
 a Law, to diminish the Power of the Senate
 thought to have by ancient Custom, or take
 away any of their Prerogatives, or do
 an Injury to any particular Senator, the
 People have Power either to receive or
 reject such Laws. This is also a certain
 Rule, that if the Senate resolve upon any
 thing, for would Assemble themselves, they
 can neither perform the one or the other ;

End

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if only one of the Tribunes opposeth him-
 self. The Office of the Tribunes is to
 execute what the People resolve upon, and
 to have a Regard principally to their Wishes,
 and for this Reason the Senate fears, and
 stands in awe of the People. In the same Manner, if the People give
 up themselves to Pride or Insult, the
Commonwealth knows how to remedy the
 Evil. For as soon as any Party begins to
 create Disorders, and assume a greater
 Power, than they ought to have, so fast
 much as no Party is absolute, but can easi-
 ly hinder the Enterprizes of the other,
 they cannot get the Balance or Superiori-
 ty one of another. So that the *Repub-
 lick* continues always in the same State,
 seeing they know how to repress one ano-
 ther, by the Incessant Jealousies of the other,
 lest by any Means their Power should
 come to be weakened or destroy'd.

After the Romans have chose their *Con-
 suls*, they create *Military Tribunes*. They
 choose 14 out of those who have been five
 Years in the War, and ten more of those
 that have carried their Arms ten Years.
 For all their *Citizens* must bear Arms till
 the Forty-sixth Year of their Age. The
 Horse must serve ten Years, and the Foot
 sixteen, except those who are not worth
 above 70 *Levres*, and those they reserve
 for the *Marines*. But if the *Commonwealth*
 have

have an extraordinary Occasion, the Foot
are bound to serve 20 Years.

but none can exercise the Office of a
Magistrate, that has not served ten Cam-
paigns. When the *Consuls* have occasion
to raise Soldiers, they cause Proclamation
to be made, that all that are able to bear
Arms, shall assemble together at such a time;
and this they do once a Year. When the
Day is come, and the *Romans*, who are a-
ble to go to War, are assembled at the Ca-
pitoll, the youngest of the *Military Tri-
bunes* divide them into four Bodies, accord-
ing to the Order of the People, or of the
Generals of the Army; because they first di-
vide their Troops into four Legions. And
the four *Tribunes* who were first chose, are
ordered into the first Legion; the three
next for the second; the four next after
for the third; and the last for the fourth.
In the first Legion are two of the oldest
made *Tribunes*; in the second are the
three next; in the third the two next
after them; and in the fourth the three
last.

After the Legions are thus chose, and
divided in such sort, that every Legion
has the same Number of Leaders; the
Tribunes of each Legion, being far at a
distance, draw the *Tribes* (wherein
the Names are contain'd) by Lot. They
are call'd as they are drawn, and after-
ward

word they choose four young Men of the same Age and Stature. The Officers of the first Legion choose first of those of the Second; the second; and so of the rest except the Number of the *Legion*, which never changes. The Youngest are oblig'd to wear a sword, and carry a small javelin, with a Target; the Target is fitting being made for that purpose, and big enough to defend him that carries it; for it is round, and a Foot and a half Diameter. Besides this, the *Kelites* wear a light Head-Piece, on the top of which, they commonly put a Wolf's Paw; or some thing like it, which serves both for a Covering, and a Mark for the Captains to know them upon occasion. The javelin of the *Kelites* is of Wood, and commonly about Two Cubits long, and a Finger thick, 'tis armed with Iron about half a Foot, and at the Point so fine, that it holds at the first blow, so that when they Lance against their Enemies, they can't use the same Weapon again, other wise it would serve both, and he that Lanceth would find his Enemies Weapons to Fight against himself. To be more plain, the *Kelites* are the *Hastati*, and they are appointed to carry the Arms, which they keep in distinction, and chiefly the *Baldrick*, the Superficies bending outwards, is two Foot and a half, and

and four Foot long, or at farthest doe
 not exceed half a Foot more. This is made
 of two Boards glued together, covered
 with a thick Cloth, glued after the like
 manner, and over all the rest a Calves
 Skin, round where is a Border of Iron
 to defend it against all cuttings Strokes;
 and give it shape. In the middle there is
 an Iron Shell, or Boss, to sustain any blow
 of a Stone, or the push of a Lance, or any
 other Arms whatsoever. The Spear-men
 have, beside the Buckler, a Spanish sword,
 which they wear on the right Side, fit ei-
 ther for thrusting or cutting, with an
 Edge on both sides, made of a strong
 well temper'd Blade. Beside all this, they
 carry two great javelins, a Brass Helmet,
 and Armour to cover their Thighs and
 Legs; some of these javelins are thicker,
 some more slender. Of the largest sort,
 the round ones were of four Fingers Dia-
 meter, and the others as much on the
 sides; the lesser sort resemble our common
 Darts. These every Soldier carries, with
 the Arms before mentioned. The Shaft
 of these javelins is three Yards long, with
 an Iron in form of a Hook, and pointed at
 the end, of an equal Length with the
 Shaft. This Iron, which reaches as far
 as the middle of the Shaft, is firmly fast-
 ned, and rivited with Nails, to prevent its
 being loosed, or breaking by any Acci-
 dent

dent where it is joyned. On the top of their Helmet is fastned a small Conopsea or Circle of Iron, with three Feathers red or black, in the midst, a Foot and a half in Length, which towering so far above the Head, make those who wear them appear big and terrible to the Enemies. The ordinary Soldiers wear on their Breast a Plate, twelve Inches on all sides; but those who are worth more than one Hundred and Fifty Pounds Estate, wear a Coat of Mail instead of this Breast-Plate.

The *Principes*, and the *Triarii* bear the same Arms, except that the *Triarii* instead of Javelins carry a sort of Half-Pike. Out of these Fighting Men, except the youngest, which were the *Kalises*, are Chosen Ten Commanders, all Experienced in the Trade of War, and after this, by a second Election, Ten more. All these Officers have the Title of Captains, with Power to Nominate Ten Serjeants in their Division. Next, according to their severall Ages, the whole Body is divided into Ten Parts, exclusive of the *Velites*, and each Division hath two Commanders and two Serjeants out of those before Chosen. The *Velites* are equally distributed to each Part, and each Part have the Name of a Band, Company, or Colours, given to it, and the Captains are called *Centurions*. These

chose each in their respective Companies
Two Ensigns, the most Robust and Brave
Fellows they can find. Doubtless it is a
very prudent Method, to place two Com-
manders to each Division, for considering
all Uncertainties, how either may behave
themselves, and the Risques of War, it
may not be safe to trust Companies, to
hazard the want of a Commander. The
Elders of these Captains, or he who is first
chosen Leads in the Right, and the other
on the Left, and either in the absence of
his Partner, leads the whole Body. The
Qualities which the Romans desire in a
Commander, are not so much Adventu-
rous Boldness, as Skill in Military Affairs,
good Conduct and Character. Nor do they
ever set so high a Value on those who are
forward to Engage and Expose themselves
freely, as those who resist an Enemy when
he presses them, and rather dye, than quit
their Post.

In the same manner they divide their
Cavalry, into Ten Parts, each of which
has Three Captains, who chose Three
Lieutenants, of their Troops. The
eldest or first Elect commands the Troops,
and the others are but Decurions, or
Commanders of Ten. In the absence of
the eldest Captain the second acts in his
place. The Armour of the Horse is the
same with the Greeks. Formerly they did

not wear Cuiraſſes, but a ſort of Breaches.
 By this means they were lighter, and could
 diſſolute more readily, but fighting thus
 unarmed were more expoſed to danger.
 Their javellins were uſeful to them for two
 Reaſons; firſt, becauſe ſtead and bending
 with their weight, they were ſubject to
 be broke by the Agitation of the Horſe.
 Theſe ſecondly, becauſe being Armed with
 Iron at one end only, they were only pro-
 per for a ſingle Blow, and being broke on
 one ſide, were rendered uſeleſs. They
 bore a Buckler made of an Oxes Hide,
 which reſembled certain Leaves ſtuck
 through, as is uſed in ſacrifices. And
 theſe being not ſtrong enough to make any
 great Oppoſition, were of little uſe to themſelves;
 but if they happened to be thorough wet,
 by a ſhower of Rain, became wholly un-
 ſerviceable. For this Reaſon they laid
 all theſe things aſide, introducing the Greek
 Arms, by which they are able to ſecure
 their Blows, the Javelin being ſhort, and
 capable of being uſed on either ſide. The
 Romans finding by Experience how con-
 venient theſe Arms were, ſoon embraced
 them, no People being more Doctile, or apt
 to change, when in the ſtead of their An-
 cient Cuſtoms, they can introduce bet-
 ter.

When

When the *Tribunes* of the Army have finished the Division, and disposed their Affairs as above, they dismiss the Soldiers till the Time arrives; upon which they are sworn to meet at the Place nominated by the *Consul*. It happens ordinarily that each *Consul* assigns a different Rendezvous, and order a Separat Meeting of their Legions, each *Consul* having a Majority of the Auxiliary Forces of the *Allies* and two *Roman* Legions at his Disposal. All who are list'd meet without fail at the Time and Place appointed. None are any who were sworn admitted to offer any Excuse for their Absence, without some extraordinary Accident or Impossibility. At this Meeting of the *Allies* and *Roman* Forces, twelve *Prætor*s commission'd by the *Consuls*, have the Direction of all Masters, and assign to each Man his Duty. But in the first place they proceed to chuse out of the *Allies* who are present, divers Horse and Foot, who are to be near the Person of the *Consul* on all Occasions, which may require an approved Courage, and these are call'd *Extraordinaries*. In all other Respects the Infantry of the *Allies* is equal in number to the *Roman* Legions, but their Cavalry is double; out of which are usually employ'd for *Extraordinaries* of Horse the Third, and of Foot the Fifth part.

The

The Remainder is divided, and call'd one the Right, the other the Left Wing. In the next place the *Tribunes* take the Legions with their Auxiliaries, and encamp them, which they perpetually do in the same Manner and Form. Wherefore I shall proceed in the next place, to shew their manner of Marching, encamping and disposing their Troops in Battle. And here I cannot doubt, but all those who have any Curiosity for any commendable Knowledge, will give just Attention to a Matter which is so memorable, and so well deserves their Notice.

This then is their manner of Encamping. Having chosen out a proper Ground, they erect the *Prætorium*, or *General's Pavillion*, in the most convenient place, to observe what Passes, and give Orders. After they have planted the Standard in the place of the Pavillion, they proceed to set out a Square of Two Acres of Land, each Face being an Hundred Foot distant from the Standard. The *Roman* Legions are posted on that side, which appears most proper for Forrage and Water. There are six *Tribunes* in each Legion, as was before recited; and each *Consul* having two Legions with him, it is evident there must be Twelve *Tribunes* in both Armies. The Tents of these *Tribunes* are erected

in a right Line, all parts of which are on an equal distance of fifty Foot, from the side of the Square, appointed for them, and this Space is large enough to receive their Horses, their other Beasts of Burthen, and the rest of their baggage. Their Tents extend all the back of the Square, looking outwards.

And here the Reader must observe that this is the Front of the whole Figure, and that we shall hereafter call it so. The Tents of the *Tribunes* are equally distant from each other, and make in their Tract a Space equal in extent to that of the *Roman Legions* in depth. After this they measure out a Space in the Front, directly opposite to their Tents, and draw a Right Line of equal Length with that on which the *Tribunes Tents* are erected, and Parallel to it. Here they begin to lodge the *Legions*, which is done in the following manner. They divide the former Line in the midst, then draw a strait Line from the Point of Section, and lodge on both sides of this Line, the Cavalry of the two Legions opposite to each other, leaving between an empty Space or Way, fifty Foot broad, through the midst of which the former Line passes. The Tents of the Infantry and Cavalry are disposed in the same manner, the Figure of the Ground which both occupy, making a Square.

This looks towards the Ways or Streets between both, and its length, which is an hundred Foot, is the length of the way, and for the most part it is so contrived, that the depth and wideness have the same measure, except the Lodgment of the Allies, But when that Armies are greater, they increase the Dimensions. But the Tents of the Horse terminating exactly in the midst of the Tents of the *Tribunes*, there is a way which Traverses the right Line before-mentioned, and the Space before the *Tribunes Tents*. For the rest, all Passages are disposed in such manner, that they resemble *Streets* or *Rows*, part Foot, part Horse, being extended along each side.

The *Triarvi* of the Two Legions are Posted behind the Cavalry, of which we have been speaking, each Company answering to the other in the same Figure, in such manner, that although they touch each other on the back, the *Triarvi* face those of the opposite side, and the *breadth* of the way were each Band of the *Triarvi* is posted, does not exceed half its *length*, these being for the most part one half less than the other. For this Reason, though the number of Men be not always equal, and the Space in which they are Posted be different, yet the Length is equal. The
Principes

Principes are Posted opposite to the *Triarvi*, with a Way of Fifty Paces between them; and in going from hence, to the Space which I before-mentioned by the *Tribunes* Tents, there are two other Ranks or Rows, which begin at the same strait Line with the Horse that is at that Space of a Hundred Foot, before the *Tribunes* Lodgment, and terminate at the other end of the Camp, which we before called, *the Front of the whole Figure*.

The *Hastati*, or Spear-Men, are Posted near the *Principes*, but on their Back, like the *Triarvi*, Facing the Horse of the opposite side. Now having observed that each Legion consists of Ten Companies, according to the Division before made, all these Alleys, or Streets, are of the same length, and end in the Front of the Camp, and it is on that side all the last Companies are Posted. In the back of the *Hastati*, at the distance of Fifty Foot, are Planted the Cavalry of the Allies, beginning in the same Line, and ending in the same strait Line with them. The Infantry of the Allies is equal in Number to the *Romans*, but is lessened a third part by taking away the Extraordinarys. And for this Reason, in Encamping, they increase the *breath*, to equal them in length to the *Roman Legions*. After the Streets or

Rows are marked out, which never exceed five. The Lodgments of the Foot of the *Allies* is next set out, who are planted on the Back of the Horse; but the depth is increased in proportion; for the rest, this Infantry looks towards the Retrenchment of the Camp on both sides. But the Captains of each Company take the principal Lodgments on each side. But in disposing the Cavalry in this manner, the sixth Company is separated from the fifth, by an Interval of Fifty Foot; and the same thing is observed in the Infantry. By this means a way is formed which crosses all other Rows, and makes a Line Parallel to to the Range of the *Tribunes Tents*. The *Romans* give it the Name of the *Fifth*, because it runs the whole length of each Fifth Range of Lodgments. As for the void Space behind the *Tribunes Tents*, on each side the *Prætorium*, the one side is allotted for the Market, and the other is occupied by the *Quæstor*, and the Ammunition. On each side the *Tribunes*, towards their utmost Tent, a little falling back, are *Voluntiers*, who came into the Army out of Respect to the Consul. These are planted the whole length of the Camp, some on the *Quæstor's* side, others on the side of the Market. In all other respects these are not Posted there, but when the Army Marched, or in any Action, they

Guard

Guard the Consul and Quæstor, being ever near their Persons.

With these they joyn the Flower of the Foot, on the side of the Entrenchment, whose Office is the same with the Horse before mentioned; after them is left a Space of fifty Foot broad; Parallel to the Tribunes Tents, which extending the length of the *Market*, *Prætorium*, and the *Quæstor's* Apartment, is continued from the Retrenchment on one side, to that on the other. On the upper side of the way the Extraordinary's Horse of the Allies are Planted; opposite to the *Market*, the *Prætorium*, and the *Quæstor's* Quarters, but in the midst of the Tents a Way of Fifty Foot Broad is left, passing before the *Prætorium*, which crossing the other way in that place, Traverses the Camp, making a strait Line from one Intrenchment to the other. Behind these Horse are lodged the extraordinary Foot of the *Allies*, which looks towards the Intrenchment, and the last side of the Camp. The remaining void Space on each side, is allotted for the Reception of Foreigners, or Allies, whose occasions may bring them into the Camp. All things thus disposed, the Form of the Camp is a Square of equal sides, and the Regular Position of the Streets, Tents, and all other things, make it very much

resemble a Town. On every side between the Intrinchment and the Tents, is a vacant Space of two Hundred Paces, very Commodious for receiving a Multitude of different things; here they keep their own Cattle, and those they have taken from the Enemy in the Night Time. And this Space is very useful, the Enemy not being able, in case he make an Attack by Night, to sling either a Dart or Fire, unless by a great Chance, and then cannot do any considerable Damage, by reason of the greatnels of the distance, and the Tents which are about it. (dod now)

Thus it is easie to know how Spacious the Camp is, and what Number it is able to receive, whether a Legion consisting of Four or Five Thousand Men, since I have shewn the Dimensions of every part, its Streets, and other particulars. But if the number of the Allies be greater, whether they come a first, or after with their Troops, as necessity or occasion require, they are lodged on one side of the *Prætorium*, and the Market is removed to the *Quæstor's* Apartment, or otherwise, as is thought most expedient, or if the number of those be great, who begin to March, when the Army is too big, a Row is added on each side the *Roman Legions*, towards the side of the Camp. But if the two *Consuls*,

sub, and the Four Legions, Ijoyn in one Camp, you must Fancy them after the manner of two Armies, joyned back to back, & dispers'd as before described, and in the place where their Extraordinaries are posted. Thus the Figure will be oblong, the Ground twice as spacious, and the Circuit once and a half greater. In short, whenever the two *Consuls* are in the same Camp, they order every thing in the same manner as when their Camps are separate, except that the *Quæstor*, the Market, and the *Prætorium*, are then in the middle, between both Armies.

After the Encampment is made, all the *Tribunes* meet, and Administer an Oath to every Man in the Legion, as well Freemen, as Slaves, who Tall, one after another, Swear, That they will not rob in the Camp; and in case any one finds anything by chance, he shall acquaint the *Tribunes* with it. Next to the Companies of the *Principes* and *Hæstati*, of each Legion are appointed to guard the *Tribunes* Tents, the *Romans* sometimes spending whole Days in that Space, for which reason they are extremely curious in keeping it clean. As for the other Eighteen Companies, each *Tribune* draws Three by Lot, for there is in each Division which are made of them, the same number of *Hæstati*, *Principes*, and

Six Military Tribunes: Out of each Com-
 pany of these, three serve the Tribunes
 Alternately in the following manner.
 When the Camp is marked out, these
 Companies pitch their Tents, erect them,
 and making the Ground level, and secu-
 ring the Baggage, if occasion require,
 they keep two Watches of four senti-
 nels, one of which is kept before the
 Tents, the other behind, near the Horses.
 Now each Tribune having three Companies
 under his Command, and each Company
 consisting of an Hundred Men, exclusive
 of the *Triarii* and *Velites*, who are not
 obliged to those Offices; this Charge is
 not very heavy, they only being in wait-
 ing once in four Days. This Provision is
 made for the ease of the Tribunes, and for
 supporting their Authority, and Credit,
 and Convenience. The Companies of
 the *Triarii* are exempt from all the Du-
 ties which the rest perform to the Tribunes,
 but each is obliged to send every Day
 four Soldiers to the Troops of Horse, to
 watch near the Companies behind them.
 They set a special Guard on the Horse, to
 prevent them from Embarrassing each
 other, so that they preserve their
 Ranks, or by falling foul on one another,
 they do not cause any disorder or alarm in
 the Camp. To conclude, one Company
 every Day stands Centry at the General's
 Tent,

Tent, to prevent any Treachery and Ambuscades, as well as for the Grandeur of his Office. giving in the following Order, When the Camp is marked out, the first place, the Allies have Orders given to secure, by a Trench and Palisado, two sides of the Camp, and the two remaining are secured by the Romans, each Legion having one committed to his care. Now all sides thus distributed, The Captains, who are present to oversee the Work, take care that every thing be done by their Companies, and two Tribunes inspect each side in general. These being divided by couples command by turns two Months of the Six, and those upon whom the Lot falls, have the Charge and Administration of all things in the Camp. The Commanders of the Allies observe the same order. As soon as Day-light appears, the Horse-men and Captains present themselves before the Tribunes Tents, and the Tribunes wait upon the Consul, to receive their Orders; which so soon as they have received, they give to the others who attend, and these to the Soldiers, as occasion requires. For the Watch-Word they proceed in this manner, to avoid being imposed on. The Soldiers of the Sixth Company of each sort of Infantry and Cavalry, are lodged at the extremity of the Rows, out of these a Man is chose, who

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is exempted from standing Centry. This Man is obliged to come every Day in the Evening to one of the Tribunes Tents, and after he has received the Word which is writ on a small Scroll, returns to his Company, and in the presence of several Witnesses, delivers this Scroll to the Captain of the Neighbouring Company, and in this manner it is handed from one to another, 'till it reach the first Companies which are posted next the Tribunes. Further, it is required that the Word be reported to the Tribunes, by those who receive this Scroll last of all, before Day-light is spent. And by this means they find that the Word has been dispersed through the whole Army, if all the Scrolls which they gave out are reported back. But if any one be wanting, they enquire where the Fault lay, and punish the neglect by a Fine. For the Night Centry it is manag'd in this manner. One Company, which is planted before the *Prætorium*, serves as a Guard for the General and the *Prætorium*; and the Select Men out of each Company, Guard the Tents of the Tribunes and the Horse.

Each Company has for its Guard, Sentinels drawn out of its own Body, and the General disposes of the Remainder. But ordinarily, twelve Sentinels round the *Quæstor's*

stor's Apartment, and two more round the Lodgings of those who are sent from the Roman State, to Assist the General with their Advice. Without the Lines the Veterans keep Guard standing Centry all along the Retrenchments, which is their Province, and Ten of these wait at each Port. Now the Centry standing Four and Four, the Serjeant of each Company brings to the Tribune, the Four Persons who are appointed for the Duty, and the Tribune gives them severall small Scrolls, marked, which so soon as each Man has received, he repairs to his Post.

The Horse go the Rounds to see that each Sentinel is well Posted: And the Captains of Horse of each Legion, give their Orders in the Morning to one of their Serjeants, who reports them before Dinner to Four of his Company, who are to go the Rounds that Night, besides which he is obliged to acquaint the next Captain who is to do the same Duty the Night following. This Captain, having notice thus given, must perform his Duty, and inform the next proceeding still in the same manner. The Four Soldiers which the Serjeants Selected, having drawn Lots, attend the Tribune from whom they receive a Scroll, with the Particulars of the Places and Number of Sentinels, they are

are to visit. Then they remain Guard near the first Company, of *Triarii*, whose Captain has a Command to blow a Trumpet at each Watch.

When the Time is come, he who goes the Round, performs it in the Time of the first Guard, several of his Friends, as Witnesses, with him, risen; he taking which, those who are round each Company of Horse and Foot, as well as those in the Entrenchments, and at the Ports. If he finds those of the first Guard upon Duty, he takes that small Scrowl which we mention'd before; but if he finds any one sleeping, or absent from his Post, he takes witness of those who are present. Those who are order'd to visit during the other Watch, act in the same manner. Further, the Captains of the first Company of the *Triarii* have Order each on his respective Day, to sound the Trumpet at each Watch of the Night, to assemble those who were appointed Sentry, as well as those who were to go the Rounds. When the Day begins to appear, all those who went the Rounds bring their Scrowls to the *Tribune*; and if there be found to be as many as were given out, they return without receiving any Reprimand; but if they bring fewer, it is easily found by the Scrowls who have

have made Default. Then the Captain is sent for, who brings with him the Men appointed to the Guard, who are to defend themselves against those who went the Round. And if the Fault lie in the Sentinel, he who went the Round produces his Witnesses; which if he fails to do, the Blame is wholly charged on him. At the same time the Counsel meets, the Criminal is examin'd, and if he be convicted, he is condemn'd to * * * *, which Punishment is inflicted in this manner. The Tribune with a Stick lightly strikes the Condemn'd Person, and after all, the Men of the Legions either with Cudgels or Stones knock the Criminal o'th' Head in the Entrenchments: And if he happen to escape their Fury, his Condition cannot be esteem'd much better, whom none of his Friends or Kindred dare harbour under their Roof. For this Reason scarce any one escapes who has the ill Luck to fall into these Circumstances. The Serjeant and the Captains of Horse are subject to the same Punishment, if the Serjeant does not give notice to those who are appointed to go the Round, or the Captain fail to give notice to the Captain of the next Company. Thus they do Religiously observe all the Duties of the Night Guard; all Faults of this Nature being rigorously punished without

Hopes

Hopes of Pardon. The Soldiers are oblig'd to a strict Obedience to their Tribunes, and these to their *Consuls*. In other Matters the Tribunes have Power to impose a pecuniary Mult to bind to their good Behaviour, to Condemn, be Whipt, or Bastinado'd. The Commanders have the same Power over the Allies, and those who have stole any thing are condemned to the *Bastinado*, those who are guilty of wilful Perjury, or have been surpriz'd, abusing Youth, and those who have been thrice fin'd for the same Offence. All which Faults are punished in the Nature of great Crimes. It is reputed Cowardise and Infamy to boast falsely before the Tribunes of any brave Action, to obtain a Reward; as also, to quit a Post, or leave behind any part of his Arms. For which Reason a great many keep their Post with Bravery, in the midst of the highest Danger, maintain and prefer an honourable Death in the midst of their Enemies, to avoid the Ignominy and Punishment of quitting their Post for Fear. And some who have let their Buckler, Sword, or part of their Arms, force their way thro the thickest of their Enemies, to recover what they have lost, or prevent the Infamy and Reproaches of their Companions.

But

But if a Multitude have committed the same Fault, and whole Companies press'd by the Enemy, quitted their Post, they do not expose them all to the Lash, or put them to Death, but in this Case they practice an Expedient, which is equally terrible and useful to prevent this Mistake. The Tribune having assembled the Army, causes the Offenders to be brought into the midst, and after vehement Reproaches, he makes them draw Lots, sometimes Eight, sometimes Twenty, and to say all in one word, as the number is greater or lesser, they'll single out every Tenth Man. Those whom the Lot falls on are punished without Remission, in the manner before described. For the rest, they have Barley instead of Wheat, and are oblig'd to lodge without the Lines. Upon this account, every one fearing the Lot, and the Danger equally threatening all, beside the Ignominy of being reduc'd to Barley, has a mighty Effect to keep every one to his Duty, and oblige them to make speedy Reparation when a Fault once happens to be committed. On the other side the Youth are tempted by mighty Recompences to expose themselves to the greatest Dangers. For when a Battle has been fought, and the young Soldiers have behaved themselves well, the General assembles the Army; and

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calling to him all those who have distinguished themselves by some Memorable Action; he commends their Courage, and if they have at any time before done any thing worthy of Praise, he never forgets to mention it. After this he gives a Javelin to him who has wounded his Enemy, and to a Footman who has dismounted or disarmed him, a Plate, and to a Horseman the Harness and Equipage of a Horse. But formerly all the Recompence that was given was a Javelin. These Prizes are not bestowed on such who have disarmed or wounded an Enemy in a set Battle, or Siege of a Town, but to those Champions who have engaged of their own Accord in a Skirmish or Duel. But in the taking of a City they give a Crown of Gold to those who first mount the Walls. In the same manner the Generals give noble Rewards to those who have saved the Lives of the Citizens or Allies, and those who are preserv'd are oblig'd by the Tribunes, if they do not of their own Accord do it, to crown them; and ever after, he who is saved is to respect him as his Father, his Deliverer, and is oblig'd to pay him the same Deference and Respect as a Son pays to his Father. Moreover, by these Means, not only such as are present are encouraged to despise

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Danger, and Rival each other in Actions; because those that have carry'd behind in the City. As for such as have obtain'd these Rewards over and above the Honour they receive from their Fellow-Soldiers, and the Fame which quickly spreads of them throughout the City, they at their Return also assist at Publick and Solemn Shows and Entertainment. To such only as have had these Marks of Worth, is allow'd to wear the aforesaid Ornaments. As for others, they content themselves with hanging up in the most perspicuous Parts of their Houses the Spoils and Trophies gain'd from their Enemies; there to remain as Monuments and Emblems of their Merit. It is then but reasonable, that such as have taken so great Care to recompence those that have signaliz'd themselves, should end their Wars with a suitable Success. The Pay of every Foot-Soldier is only *Two Odoli* a Day, and of the Horse a *Drachma*. Each of the Foot has Four Bushels of Wheat allow'd him besides by the Month, and every Trooper *Three Septuaxes*, and a half of Oats, and *One Septuax* of Wheat. The Hired Foot have the same Pay and Allowance with the *Romans*, but the Horse have but *Two Septuaxes*, and a half of Oats, and Eight Bushels of Wheat allotted them; and this is likewise look'd

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upon

upon to be more Matter of Favour than Obligation. But however, tho' the Roman Soldiers have Corn, Cloaths, Arms, and whatever else they have Occasion for, allow'd them, yet the *Questor* always deducts it out of their Pay.

The Order of a Roman Armies Marching

As to what relates to the Roman way of Decamping and Marching, it is after this Manner. At the first sounding of the Trumpet the Tents are taken down, and the Baggage pack'd up; but here it must be understood that the Generals and Tribunes are always sent first. At the second sounding they load the Horses, and on the third they must begin their March. For the most part the Voluntiers are in the Front: Then follow the Right Wing of the Auxiliaries with their Baggage. After which marches the first Roman Legion with its Baggage, and next the second Roman Legion with its Baggage likewise; and lastly, the Left Wing of the Auxiliaries, with its Baggage, bring up the Rear. As for the Horse, they sometimes march in the Rear of all, and sometimes Flank the Baggage for better Security of it. Whenever they have any Apprehensions of the Enemies Attacking them in the Rear, they don't change

change their Order, but only cause the Volunteers to march thither forthwith; the *Legions* and *Auxiliaries* march thence, that they may all equally have a share in the Forrage and Water.

The *Romans* have another kind of March when they are in any Fear of the Enemy, and are in an open Country. They cause the *Hastati*, *Principes* and *Triarii* to be divided into three Battalions, and to march at equal Distances one from another. First, they place the Ensigns and Colours in the Front with their Baggage; then the *Hastati* with their Baggage; next the *Principes* and their Baggage; and lastly, the *Triarii*, with theirs, in a manner, that the Army being thus disposed, whatever happens, either on the Right or the Left, by a half Turn they may be upon their Guard; the first thing they do is to remove the Standards from that side where the Enemy appears; so that in an Instant, and with one Motion, the Army can be in a Posture of Defence. By these Means the Baggage, and all those who follow the Army, will be found in the Rear, and consequently secur'd from Danger.

When the Army is near the Place where they are to encamp, the *tribunes* and Captains, which it is customary to choose upon such Occasion, go before

and mark out the Ground for the *Pratorium*, as likewise consider where it is most proper for the Legions to pitch their Tents. After this they measure out the Circumference of the *Pratorium*, and then draw from thence one straight Line, where are rais'd the Tents of the *Tribunes*, and another on the other Hand, where are pitch'd the Tents of the Legions. The same Lines are drawn out on the other side of the *Pratorium*, according to the Description we have already given. This being done for the laying out the Ground, is no ways difficult; the Distances being easily known, they plant a Standard, first where the *Pratorium* is to stand, and next in the other places mark'd out. Here it must be observ'd, That the *Consul's* Standard is always *White*, when all the others are *Red*. Afterwards they proceed to measure out the Streets, in every one of which they plant a Javelin. By these Means, as soon as ever the Army arrives, they know immediately where to place themselves, and every one can go directly to his Quarters, by the Standard of the *General*.

In their Encampments the *Romans* act quite contrary to the *Greeks*; for whenever the latter designs to pitch their Camp, they always chose Places well fortified by Nature, and this because they would

would avoid the Trouble of Entrenching themselves; and moreover, they never trusted so much to such Fortifications, as to those presented by Nature. Hence it happens that as they are oblig'd to have their Camp conformable to the Ground they have pitch'd upon, so also their Quarters must differ, according to the Nature of the place, and consequently their Lodging be always uncertain. But on the other hand, the *Romans* cheerfully underwent all manner of Fatigue and Labour, to the end they might Encamp more commodiously. This is what we have thought necessary to say at present, concerning the *Roman* Legions, and their way of Encamping.

*Of the most Famous Republicks
of Antiquity, with their seve-
ral Comparisons.*

THE greatest part of Historians have left us their Opinions, That the best Republicks of the World were those of the *Lacedemonians*, *Candiots*, *Mantineans*, and even of the *Carthagenians*; and there have been likewise such as have cryed up,

those both of *Athens* and *Thebes*. As for my part, I shall say but little, except of these two last, of which also I shall presume to aver, That they neither deserve to have much said of them, since they have arriv'd to no great height; and when as they had reach'd the utmost of their Prosperity, they continued not long in that Station. It is certain, That when they had been unexpectedly rais'd by a Caprice of Fortune, and were thought to be in their greatest Splendor, which was also likely to continue a good while, all of a sudden they have experienced the effects of an unhappy Change. It must be confess'd, that the *Thebans* having perceiv'd an unlucky rashness in the *Lacedemonians*, and the ill will their Confederates bore them, took occasion from thence to attack them with great Vigour, insomuch that they acquired great Reputation among the *Greeks*, by means of two or three of their bravest Captains. In a word, Fortune soon made it manifest, That it was not the Oeconomy of the *Theban Republick*, that gain'd them so frequent success, but rather the Courage and Conduct of those who had the Command of their Armies. To confirm this, it is certain that the Rise, Strength and Ruin of the *Theban Commonwealth*, was during the several Lives and Regencies of *Epaminondas* and *Pelo-*

Pelopidas. For this Reason the Republick of *Thebes* ought not to have so great *Glory* and *Grandeur* ascrib'd to it, since all its *Greatness* is to be Attributed only to the *Prudent Government* of these Famous Men.

We ought to pass the same Judgment on the Republick of *Athens*, which perhaps has been other Famous than the former, and which Flourished more than ordinary under the wise Administration of *Themistocles*, but after his Death it degenerated from what it had been before, and became the Sport and Caprice of *Fortune*. It is certain that the People of *Athens* have ever been like a Ship at Sea, without a Pilot, but as soon as the Tempest arose, they have presently agreed together to obey one *Guide*, and each has done his endeavour to Defend and Secure the Publick; but the Danger being once over, and the Clouds dispers'd, they have immediately resum'd their wonted obstinacy, and despis'd even those Pilots, by whose Means they Sail'd in Security. From hence flow'd a universal Discord; for if one side had a Mind to pursue the Voyage, the other was certainly against it: If one loos'd the Sails, the other would undoubtedly Furl them up; so that whilst they thus continued in dispute,

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they always became a miserable Spectacle to such as regarded them at distance, and likewise all that were in the same Ship, incur'd the common Danger. By these means it often happen'd, that when they had made a Prosperous Voyage, and surmounted all the Difficulties and Dangers of the Sea, they at length suffered Shipwreck in the very Port. This has been often experienced by the Commonwealth of Athens, for after having avoided great Perils, by means either of some particular Members, or of their Leaders, they all of a sudden, by I know not what Imprudence, have fell from their former Grandeur, even at a time when there was least to be feared, and all things were in the greatest Tranquility.

I do not think it necessary to continue longer either upon the Republick of Athens or Thebes, since the first was ever Govern'd by a Multitude who follow'd the Dictates of their Passions, and amongst the Last, Violence and Rage have always taken place. Let us then come to the Republick of the Candiots, and consider in that State two things which have been Remark'd by the most Celebrated Writers of Antiquity, such as Ephorus, Xenophon, Calisthenes, and Plato. First they have observ'd, That this Republick was the same with

with that of *Sparta*; and Secondly, That it was very worthy of Commendation: As for my part, I can find neither of these Assertions true, as I shall endeavour to prove by what follows. But first a Word or two of the difference of these *Commonwealths*. It is said to have been peculiar to the Republick of *Lacedemon*, or *Sparta*, First, that all Persons should enjoy the like Estates: Secondly, That by these means one having no more Wealth, and consequently no more Authority than another, Ambition would be quickly banish'd the *Commonwealth*. And Thirdly, That amongst the *Lacedemonians* their Kings were Hereditary, and Succeeded one another, as also the *Ancients*, by whose Counsels and Advice, all Matters were Govern'd, had the same Authority for their Lives.

But with the *Candots* every thing was contrary to this, for by their Laws a Man might enjoy as much Estate as he could get, Ambition and Avarice being with them not only necessary, but honourable: In a word, these Vices were so common in this State, that the *Candots* alone Justified all manner of ways of Enriching themselves. Moreover, in *Candia* their chief Magistrates were chosen yearly, and the State there very much resembled a De-

maximacy. This has made me often wonder how these Authors could affirm, That the Republicks of *Sparta* and *Candia* were alike when it is apparent, That they were so very different, for over and above that they have passed by what I have here observed, they moreover have used a great many Words to shew that *Lycourge* alone, of all Man-kind, knew best how to manage a Common-wealth; and further, that whereas there are two *Things* by which a State supports it self, which are Force and Union, they say that by removing Avarice, at the same time they got rid of all Disorders and Intestine Commotions, and more than all this, that the *Lacedaemonians* had the best Govern'd Republick of all Greece. But having gon on for a good while after this manner, they never consider'd that they have compar'd a Government to it which was naturally Covetous, whence proceeded so frequent Disorders and Seditions, and sometimes Civil Wars. *Ephorus* also has committed the like Error in describing these two Common-wealths, but yet he Names no Names, and you can't know what Republick he means, unless you are very intent upon reading him. I will now proceed to give my Reasons why I don't think the Common-wealth of *Candia* deserves either to be Commended or Imitated.

As

As I take it, there are two Principles or Foundation of every Republick, which are, *to wish for some things, and avoid others*: What contributes towards the Innocence and Purity of a Citizen's Private Condition, and renders Publick Justice ealie and natural, is to be wish'd for, when things that occasion contrary Effects are to be as much avoided. As therefore the Customs and Manners of a Republick may be allow'd to be Commendable where the Members of it are Honest and Virtuous; so where they are addicted to Avarice, and their Publick Proceedings are Unjust, who may not have leave to affirm, *that their Laws are ill Contriv'd, and the Common-wealth, as well as its Members, are worthy to be blam'd.* Now it is impossible to meet with any People more Cunning and Designing, than the *Candiors*, whose Publick Decrees and Resolutions were also very Unjust. Thus having sufficiently shewn by an exact Comparison, *that this Republick had nothing in it, fit to be named with that of Sparta, and that it deserves neither Praise nor Imitation; I think I have nothing left to do but entirely to Reject and Despise it.* I am also of Opinion, *That Plato's Republick is not worthy to be compared with that of Sparta, altho some Philosophers make so great Account*

count of it; for as that ordains that no Workmen shall be receiv'd into it, who shall not produce some considerable Testimony of his Art, nor no Lustit admitted, who has not been exercent for a good while in that Profession; so this Republick ought not to be received among others, if it cannot bring some tolerable Instance of its Worth.

In a word, as Matters have hitherto been carry'd, if a Man has a Mind to compare what he reads with the several Republicks of Sparta, Rome and Carthage, he might as well take a Statue, and oppose it to the Living Original; for tho this Statue might have been handled in all Respects, according to the Rules of Art, yet no doubt all that look upon it will easily discover it wants Life. Wherefore to say no more of the Commonwealth of Plato, but let us return to that of Sparta.

As to what relates to Union among the Citizens, Security of the Country, and Preservation of the Publick Liberty, *Lycorgus* has made so good Laws, and provided for every thing with so much Prudence and Wisdom, that I am of Opinion, That his Work was rather the Invention of a God than a Man. In short, the Equality of their States, and their manner

manner of Living must needs render every Citizen more Modest and Moderate, and prevent Seditions and Insurrections, which might otherwise happen in the *Common-wealth*; moreover, being habituated to Labour (which is commonly look'd upon to be a Badge of Slavery) Men have always become more Robust, and better Soldiers, than without it. And doubtless, when all this meets in a *Common-wealth*; I mean, Force and Temperance, it is not conceivable that Vice can ever spring from such a Soil, or that a Republick of so good Foundation can be conquer'd without much Difficulty. *Lycurgus* having thus establish'd his *Common-wealth* upon so sure Grounds, labour'd farther for the Security of whole *Laconia*, and left the *Spartans* a Liberty, which lasted for many Years. But as to what relates to the Conquests, which might be made upon its Neighbours, and the Conduct of a continued War, it seems to me that he has not thought sufficient upon the Matter, whether we consider this Republick entire, or in Parts; and therefore he was oblig'd to confine his Citizens to Frugality, and no Action, every one being content with his Private Condition, and the Government satisfied under a State of Peace, insomuch, that Moderation and Temperance had then as great

great an Ascendant over the Publick, as it had over a particular Member of the *Common-wealth*. In truth, as to what concerns a Private Life, or what regards the Laws and Constitutions of the Republick, he has done his part to a Miracle, having remoy'd Ambition in a great Measure, tho he could never prevail so far, but that he was forc'd to leave his Countrymen, Ambitious of having Command over the rest of the *Greeks*, and Greedy both of Dominion & Riches; for who does not know that the *Spartans* were the first among the *Greeks* that coveted their Neighbours Territories, and whose Avarice prompted them to declare War against *Messina*, on no other account but that they might sell their Prisoners for Slaves when they had taken them? Who likewise is ignorant, that their Obstinacy extended so far, that they oblig'd themselves by Oath not to quit that Siege till they had taken the City by Storm? Also, every Body has heard, that out of the Desire they had to obtain the *Great an Empire*, they even submitted to those they had before Conquer'd in Battle, and were not asham'd to obey them that they had formerly Commanded. When the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, the *Spartans* fought generously for the Liberty of their Country, and soon vanquish'd their

their Enemies; yet even when the Persians were fled into their own Dominions by the Peace concluded with *Alexander*, they deliver'd up to them several *Greek Towns*, which they had betray'd, and all this with no other end but to have a Reward, which might put them into a Condition to enslave their Countrymen. It was at this juncture that they found out the weak side of their Government, tho as long as they aspir'd only to the Conquest of their Neighbours, and at length of *Peloponnesus*, the Provisions and Troops which they brought from *Laconia*, suffic'd their Undertaking; they easily made Preparations, and return'd as quickly into their own Country, when their Designs had been accomplish'd. But afterwards, when they began to think of a Fleet of Ships, and more Land Forces, to extend their Progress beyond *Peloponnesus*, they were manifestly convinc'd, That their Iron Money and their Way of Exchange, for what Commodities they wanted, pursuant to the Law of *Lycurgus*, would not be able to support their Necessities; for they then had occasion for Foreign Troops and Money of a more Universal Currency.

For this reason they found themselves oblig'd to make their Court to the King of Persia, that he would Impose Taxes on
and

and exact a Tribute from all the Domi-
 ons of the Greeks, well knowing at
 the same time, that if they kept
 but to the Laws of *Lycurgus*, they
 would not be able to do them any great
 Harm. But why all this while have we
 made so large a Digression? For no other
 end but to demonstrate by the Circum-
 stances themselves that the Republick estab-
 lish'd by *Lycurgus*, was able alone
 to defend its own Frontiers, and preserve
 its own Liberties; and therefore we may
 safely averr, that for this Purpose only
 no Republick in the World has been bet-
 ter provided, than that of *Sparta*. But
 if we will go any farther, and be guided
 so much by Ambition, as to think to com-
 mand all the World. In short, if we
 would have all Eyes fixt upon us, and be
 Universally obey'd, it must be ingenu-
 ously own'd, that the Commonwealth of
 the *Lacedemonians*, was altogether Imper-
 fect, and that *Rome* was much more ex-
 cellent, its Establishment allowing a
 greater Facility to raise Forces, and to ac-
 quire a Universal Empire. This will ma-
 nifestly appear by the Testimony of the
 things themselves. In a word, whilst the
Lacedemonians endeavour'd to become
 Masters of all Greece; they at the same
 time laid their Liberty at Stake. On the
 contrary, the *Romans* having once got a
 Sovereign

Government over the People of
 the World. The Roman Empire
 was their constant Supplies of Necessaries
 from all Parts. As in the Republic of Carthage, it
 soon came to be well enough
 Established in the beginning, it having
 had Kings or Suffetes, (the Name of its
 chief Magistracy) the Senate also had a
 Power somewhat resembling an Assembly;
 and lastly, the People likewise had
 considerable Rights and Privileges. In a
 Word, the Republic of Carthage was not
 much unlike that of the Romans and Car-
 thaginians, yet whereas it engaged in the
 War manag'd by Hannibal, it was in a much
 worse condition than before, and at the
 same time the Romans in a much better.
 For as all Countries are, and even every
 thing else, have naturally a Tendency, when
 they are brought to Perfection, to like-
 wise have they a Tendency to decay and di-
 minish. For inasmuch as the Republic
 of Carthage came to its highest degree be-
 fore that of the Romans, for the same rea-
 son it came first to a Declension. More-
 over, the People of Carthage very much
 depended upon the Publick Debt, which
 the Romans were
 E
 also

altogether overruled and guided by the Power of their Senate. Hence it followed, that in Carthage the People generally gave their Opinions, and Voted in all Matters of State, when at Rome they were wholly Silent, and Govern'd by the great Men, in a manner, that as long as the Romans entirely Vanquish'd the Carthaginians, notwithstanding that the Romans were more numerous, and more powerful, than the Carthaginians. Now if we would consider every thing apart, for Example, what relates to War only, we shall find, that the Carthaginians to have been always the best Seamen of their times, they having learn'd that Art from their Ancestors, and by their own Experience, perfect'd themselves in it. But for Land Discipline, the Romans have ever infinitely surpass'd them. The reason of this was, because the latter made it their Business to excel by Land, when the former took little or no care of it. Nevertheless, they had some regard to their Cavalry, because they were oblig'd to make use of Foreign Troops, when the Romans employ'd only their Citizens and Natives of their own Dominions. In this particular likewise, the Roman Cavalry deserves greater Commendation than that of the Carthaginians, for they have always rely'd upon the Courage

and

and Fidelity of hired Strangers; who are
 formed or bred only to a certain Service
 and the Affluence of their Affairs. It
 followed that the Romans, though they
 were heathen, could quickly bring an Army
 into the Field again, which the Carthaginians
 were never able to do. Moreover,
 the Romans fought chiefly for the Security
 of their Wives and Children, which
 are the most powerful Motives to support
 Courage. This, though the Romans
 were always allow'd Inferiour to the Car-
 thaginians by Sea, and did they generally
 get the better of them by Land; and cer-
 tainly, though the Experience of a Sea-
 man be absolutely necessary in Naval En-
 gagements, yet the Courage of a Soldier
 is no less requisite to gain a Victory by
 Land. The People of Asia have over-
 had this Advantage naturally over the
 Romans, that they have excell'd them in Vi-
 gour, Resolution, and Presence of Mind.
 Moreover, their many prudent Institutions
 have very much contributed towards the
 Perfection of their Youth. It would be ne-
 cessary to say one thing more to demon-
 strate the Care the Romans have always
 taken to Educate and Amuse their Youth
 to the end that they might be ready to en-
 dure any Hardships for the Honour and
 Safety of their Country.

*The manner of Burying a Person of Quality
among the Romans.*

V Whenever any Person of Note dy'd among the *Romans*, over and above the common Honours paid him at his Funeral, they carried him with great Pomp to the place of his Interment, where for the most part, they set him upright, to the end that he might be better seen, and rarely, or never laid him along. There all the People being Assembled, his Son, if he left any old enough that was then in the City, or for want of a Son, one of his nearest Kindred mounted the *Tripod*, and made his Funeral Elegy and *Elogium*. By this means the People having before their Eyes the Person that was so powerfully Commended, not only those that had been Witnesses of his Actions, but likewise such as had only heard of them, were so influenced with his Merits, that from a particular Mourning of one Family, it became a universal Concern. After this, the Body being Interr'd, and its Obsequies decently perform'd, a Statue representing the Deceas'd, was plac'd on the top of his House, in a small Chappel built with Boards. These Statues they uncovered

vered on all Solemn Feasts, or Days of Rejoycing, and dress'd them up with several splendid Ornaments. When any considerable Person of the same Family dy'd, they carried the Statues to his Funeral, and to the end that they might more resemble the Party whom they represented, they added to them the rest of his Body. They moreover clothed them according to the Dignities that they had enjoy'd when living; for Example, if they had been *Consuls*, or *Patrons*, they put on them the *Prætextæ*, or *Laticlavii*; and if they had been *Censors*, a Robe of Purple. But, where they had ever Triumph'd, or had any other Honours done them, their Statues were clothed with a Habit all shining with Gold. Next they seated them in a *Sella Curulis*, and caused the *Laurels*, and other Marks of Magistracy, to be carry'd before them, according to the Honours and Dignities they had born in the Commonwealth. When they arriv'd at the place design'd, they were separately Seated in several Ivory Chairs, suitable to their Precedency while alive. Young Men who have any regard to Praise and Glory, could not possibly have a greater Incentive thereto, than these magnificent Sights.

* This shews that these Statues were but to the Waste.

Is it possible to meet with any among these who would not have the most irrefragable Inclination to Virtue at the viewing of these great Men, all who had render'd themselves worthy to live still in their Statues? Furthermore, when the Son, or other Relation, had finish'd his Harangue, he immediately went upon the other Statues there present, beginning with the Eldest, and reciting all the most Famous Actions of him that is represented. By these means Men that had done any thing considerable in the World, were as it were Immortaliz'd, and render'd glorious Exemplars to all Posterity. For what is most to be valu'd in these Ceremonies, is, *That they Animated and Encouraged Youth to behave themselves with the like Conduct or Bravery.* The Truth of this may be confirm'd by an infinite number of Examples, for there are several to be found among the Romans, who have ended a lingering War by a Duel, and others who have voluntarily sacrific'd their Lives to the Publick Good. There have been some likewise who have Stragg'd even their own Children, for the Benefit of the Publick, shewing that they had greater regard to the Good of their Country, than the Rights of Nature. There are

many

many more such Examples to be met with among the Romans, one of which, I think, is not amiss to relate. It is reported of Horace, Turnus, & Cocles, or the One-eyed. That he bravely resisted the whole Force of his Enemies Army at the Entrance of a Bridge of the Tyber, which he commanded to be broke down behind him, that he might save his Army by their Retreat, which was then like to be worsted. After he had courageously opposed his Enemies for some time, and received a great many Wounds; and that the Bridge was broke down from behind him, he leaped into the River with his Armour on, exposing himself voluntarily for the Safety of his Country, and preferring a Glorious Death to a miserable Life. Thus it is certainly true, that by such Examples as these the Minds of young People have been influenced with Inclinations to Virtue, and the Emulation of great Actions.

Now, as to what relates to Men's Private Affairs, and the Ways of Augmenting their Estates: the Customs of the Romans have been much more Commendable, than those of the Carthaginians: for the Latter look'd upon no sort of Gain, to be dishonourable and Infamous, providing it were for their Benefit, when the former reckon'd Brute

ry Over-reachings and Extrorsions, to be
 the very worst of Crimes. As much
 as they valued *Rites* *honour* *generosity*
 much they abhor'd all manner of Means
 of getting them otherwise. What we
 have said of *Carriage* *bloody* *appearances*
 by their Selling all kinds of *Distresses*
 and *Offices*, when at *Rome* *did* *was* *a* *Cap*
pital Crime *to* *do* *it* *now* *since* *the*
Rewards *given* *to* *offence* *are* *different* *in*
these *two* *Republicks*, it might not be
 doubted, but the ways of obtaining them
 are also different; but in my Opinion the
Romans excel the *Gothigians* in nothing
 more than in the Notions they bare of
 their God; and I verily believe, what
 what was reckon'd a Vice among other
 Nations; I mean, *Superstition*, has in
 great measure preserv'd the *Roman* *Re*
publick. This has been so orderly managed,
 and introduced both into a *Private* *Life*,
 and all *Publick* *Affairs*, that there remains
 nothing to be added to it. For my part
 I believe the *Populace* has been the chief
 Occasion of its Propagation. For if it
 were possible to have a *Commonwealth*
 composed all of *wise* *Men*, perhaps there
 would be little or no *Necessity* for it. But
 as the *Multitude* are always *fickle* and
 full of *ill* *managed* *Rassions*; as likewise
 easie to be work'd into *Heats* and *dis*
mosities,

most, the only way to suppress them, and to settle their wavering Minds, would be to restrain them by Spectrous Dreads, and the solemnity of Fictions, which all ways sleep in Awe. Inasmuch that the Heathen Priests introduced the Opinion of Gods and Wills amongst the People, with a great deal of Reason; and what on the contrary it is highly unreasonable for us now-a-days, to question these improbable fictions, or to endeavour an Extirpation of the Beliefs of them.

From hence it happens, that should you have lent a Greek only One Talent, I don't mean of the Farmers of the Revenues, altho you had this ten Judgements as many Promises, and twice as many Witnesses against him; yet would it have been almost impossible for you to have made him keep his Word. But among the Romans, how ever great the Sums were that you lent; whether among the Magistracy, the Senators, or the People; you would have been punctually paid your Money at the Time and Place appointed. And whereas among other Nations it would have been difficult to meet with any Man that were any way concerned in the Publick Treasure, so with the Romans you should rarely hear of any

* About
600
Crowns.

any Fraud or Wrong done by any of these Officers.

It were needless to tell you that all *Human Affairs* must come to a Period, as likewise that they are all subject to change, since a *sole Necessity, in Nature is a sufficient Testimony of this Truth*. There are two things, by which, all *Republicks* perish, and come to nothing. The *Ill* which comes from within it, and the *Evil* engendred within them. The Knowledge of the former is *Uncertain and Variable*; and as concerning the latter, we have already shown what was first the Form of a *Republick*, what it came to be afterwards, and how one has been chang'd into another. This is manifest by the several *Vicissitudes* that happen in all *Commonwealths*; for after a *Republick* has surmounted never so many Dangers, and that it has arriv'd at the utmost Pitch of *Glory*, it is certain, that after it has enjoy'd its Good Fortune for a while, *Luxury* will not fail to slide into it, and *Ambition* seize upon the Minds of its choicest Members; which, when they have a little exercised their Pernicious Supremacy, the beginning of the Ruine of that State will proceed from Honours disputed, and *Luxury* encouraged. *Pride and Idleness* will also very much

which the People will at length finish. The particular Members also of this Republick will grow weary, when they shall believe themselves ill treated by the Avarice of some, and imposed upon by the Flattery of others. For then burning with Rage, they will neither obey the Magistrates, nor take their Counsel, but treat them altogether as their Equals, and perhaps at last attribute all the Power to themselves. The Republick being thus changed, it may seem at first to be for the better; and perhaps it may take upon it the Specious and Luxurious Pretence of Liberty; but however, it is supposed happy rare cannot continue long, being become subject to the Government of a blind Multitude, which without Dispute is the most Pernicious in the World. In short, having treated of the Establishment of the Roman Republick, its flourishing Estate, and its difference with all others, I shall proceed to speak of something else.

Now we'll go on, and handle one Particular of that part of our History, which concerns the Time where we began the long Digression we have made, and will moreover, in as few words as possible, explain the Strength and Power of the Commonwealth of Rome at that time.

After

Hannibal's Victory over the Romans at *Cannæ*, he took 8000 Men Prisoners, whom they had left for Defence of their Camp. To these he granted their Lives and more-over gave them Liberty to send into their Country for Ransome. Whereupon they deputed ten of the best Quality among them all, whom *Hannibal* caused to swear that they would not fail to return, and consequently let forward towards Rome; but there was one among them who feigned to have forgot something; and thereupon return'd to the Camp, imagin- ing he had wholly satisfied his Oath and Honour thereby. Altho as these Depu- ties were arriv'd at Rome, they humbly entreated the Senate not to be against Prisoners returning to their own Coun- try, and to permit them to pay each *Three Drachmas* for his Ransom. They told them they had agreed for just same with *Hannibal*; and moreover they urg'd that these Prisoners deserv'd to be allow'd that Favour, insomuch, as they neither could be justly accus'd of Cowardize, nor had done any thing unworthy of a Roman; but that having been left for Defence of the Camp, all their Companions being dead, they were overpower'd by the Numbers of *their Enemies*, and therefore ought not to have that attributed to *Pusillanimity*, which

which was wholly the Effect of their *bad Fortune*. Notwithstanding all these moving Words, the *Romans*, who they had had to great a Loss in that Battle, and saw the *Imminent Danger* their Country was like to be expos'd to, yet would they not yield to this Request; for after having heard the *Deputies* patiently, they presently had regard to their ancient *Glorie*, and consequently forgot not what they had to do; for being maturely consider'd that the Intention of *Hannibal* was not only to have Money, but likewise to rob them of the Reputation they had gain'd in former Battles, by their giving him a kind of Acknowledgment of his Victory, they were so far from agreeing to the *Deputies* Demands, that they seem'd not at all mov'd with Compassion neither for them nor theirs, but on the contrary, being convinc'd of *Hannibal's* Designs, they not only refus'd, but prohibited the Prisoners to be ransom'd, and immediately proceeded to make a Decree, That for the future their Soldiers should either Die or Conquer; for that no Redemption should be allow'd them, if taken Prisoners.

Thus they were overpower'd by the Numbers of their Enemies, and therefore ought not to have that attributed to Pusillanimity, which

Thus the Deputies seeing no *Hopes of Success*, return'd according to their *Parole*, but they first bound and sent away before them that Deputy, who would have disengag'd himself from his Oath. The Conduct of the *Roman Senate*, being related to *Hannibal*, occasion'd him not to joyce so much for his Victory as to be surpris'd at the uncommon Resolution of the *Romans*, and of that Greatness of Courage, which attended all their Deliberations.

POLYBII

The End of the Sixth Book.

BOOK VII

~~Situation of the City of Leontium~~
in Italy.

THE City of Leontium, taken together, looks toward the Sea. In the midst is a great square upon a Gentle Descent, where the Town-Hall stands, and the Market is kept. This place has on each side several unequal and steep Hills, on the Top a Plain, covered with

Thus the Deputies going up to the
 Senate, returned according to their
 duty, but they left bound and sent away
 before them that Deputy who would
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 Deliberations.

POLYBIUS

The End of the Sixth Book.

BOOK VII

Situation of the City of Leontium, in Italy.

THE City of Leontium, taken altogether, looks toward the West. In the midst is a great Square upon a gentle Descent, where the Town-Hall stands, and the Market is kept. This place has on each side several unequal and steep Hills, on the Top a Plain, covered with

with fair Dwelling-Houses, and Temples. This Town consists of two parts, the South, and Extream, which lies on the side of Syracuse, and the opposite of North, which leads into the *Leontine Plains*, and the Corn Fields; at the foot of the Rock runs a River, which they call the *Epiphanes*, with a Range of Houses, all at a short distance from it, and the Way is there mentioned, between the River and the Houses.

T R E A T Y

Articles of Agreement between Hannibal, General of the Carthaginians, and Xenophanes, Ambassador of Philip King of Macedon.

THIS is a True Copy of the Treaty concluded between *Hannibal*, and *Myrcal*, *Harmocal*, Senators of Carthage, and the whole Body of the People present; and *Xenophanes*, son of *Chabrias*, of *Aegae*, Plenipotentiary of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*; the noble People of that Kingdom, and the rest of that Alliance. Which Treaty is solemnly agreed in the Presence of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, and the

the Presence of the God of the Carthaginians, *Ammon* and *Saturn*; in the Presence of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Neptune*; in the Presence of all those Divinities who are interested in *Martial Affairs*; in the Presence of the Sun, Moon and Earth; in the Presence of the Rivers, Meadows, and Waters; in the Presence of all those Gods, who are Patrons of *Barthage*; in the Presence of all those Gods who have a Concern for the Prosperity of *Macedon* and *Greece*; in the Presence of all those Gods who preside in War, and assist at the present Treaty. *Hannibal*, General of the *Carthaginians*, declares; as likewise do the *Senators*; who are with him, and all the *Carthaginians* in his Army; that according to your and our Intention, this Treaty be in the best Manner that can be, conceiv'd a Treaty of Friendship and Kindness, and that both Parties from hence forward receive each other as Brothers and Allies. And it is resolv'd that King *Philip*, the *Macedonians*, and all the *Greeks*, their Allies on the one side shall do their Endeavour to preserve and defend the *Carthaginian* Lords, *Hannibal* their General, all other Persons who are with them, All Governors of Provinces under the Dominion of *Carthage*; All who live under the same Laws with them, the In-

F

habitants

of *Utica*, all Cities and Nations, who
are Subjects of the *Carthaginian Empire*,
All who bear Arms in their Service;
All Cities in Alliance with them in *Italy*,
Gaul, and *Liguria*, and all who shall
hereafter enter into Alliance with the
the same. That in the same manner
on the other side all Armies of the *Car-*
thaginians, the Inhabitants of *Utica*,
All the Cities and States, who are Sub-
jects of *Carthage*; All who bear Arms in
their Service; All the People and Ci-
ties of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, Friends
and Allies of the *Carthaginians*, or who
shall hereafter be so, shall employ their
best Endeavours to preserve and defend
the said King *Philip*, the *Macedonians*,
and the *Greeks* and their Allies with them.
That no Clandestine Practices shall be
carried on, to each others Prejudice.
That both should in the most Open,
Sincere, and Unfeigned Manner, be En-
emies to all the Enemies of *Carthage*,
except such Kings, Cities, or Ports,
with which either Party has made any
preceding Alliance and Friendship. And
in like manner both shall be Enemies to
all the Enemies of King *Philip*, except
such Princes, States, or Cities, with
whom any preceding Alliance has been
likewise made. That the War with the
Romans

Romans shall be a common War, till the Gods shall be pleased to grant each Party Success. That you on your side shall supply us with all Necessaries our Occasions shall require, and shall submit to such Methods as shall be agreed on. That if Heaven shall not vouchsafe Success to our Arms, and we shall be obliged to treat with the *Romans*, and conclude a Peace, it shall be done in such manner, that they shall never have Liberty to declare War against you. That the *Romans* shall remain excluded from their Dominion over *Corfou*, the *Appollonate*, the Inhabitants of *Durazzo*, *Pharos*, *Dionallia*; the *Parthians* and *Arintania*. They shall be oblig'd to deliver up to *Demetrius* of *Pharos* all his Kinsmen and Friends, who shall be found in any part of their Territories. That if the *Romans* commence a War against either of us, we may mutually assist each other as Occasion shall require. The same thing both Parties shall do if any Third shall declare War, except against such Kings, States, or Cities, with which either Party has a preceeding Alliance. In the last place, if it shall be found convenient, this present Treaty shall be

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enlarg'd or lessen'd by the common Con-
sent of both Parties.

Demetrius of Pharus persuades Phi-
lip to keep a Garrison in the Fort
of Messina. Aratus dissuades him
from the same.

WHEN the Entrails were pre-
sented to Philip to View, he
took them in his Hand, and turning of
the Victim aside, shew'd them to Aratus,
demanding of him from what they predict-
ed, if they should quit the Citadel, or
maintain a Guard in it? Upon this, De-
metrius taking Advice from the Nature
of the thing it self, instantly replied,
If you suffer your self to be
govern'd by Presages and the Rules of Au-
gury, you must quit it without further de-
lay; but if you act like a great and valiant
Prince, skill'd in the Art of War, and
who is Potent enough to gain Dominion
and Empire, you will keep it, and not quit
a certain Prize; for the gaining a better
Opportunity by this means. Having fast
hold of both Horns, you will have the
Beast

Beast in your Power; designing by the two Horns to represent Ichoriat; and the Acrocorinthus, and by the Beast Peloponessus. But Philip turning to Aratus, Do you (says he) advise the same thing; and seeing he stood mute, intreated him to deliver his Opinion. Aratus after a little Pause reply'd, If you can keep it (says he) without violating the Honour and Faith of those Assurances you have given the Messenians, I advise you to keep it. But if you do keep it, and put a Garrison into it, you will that same Time lose all the Fortresses, and with them all the Assistance you have received from Antigonus; by means of which you preserve your Allies (meaning his Honour and Faith.) Consider then whether it will not avail more to keep the Honour of your Word unblemish'd, and by this Means keep the Messenians as well as the rest of the Allies, firm to your Interest. If Philip had follow'd his own Inclination, he would have made no Scruple of breaking his Promise, as we'll see he afterwards did upon several Occasions.

But in this Case the younger Aratus having not long before reproached him

him with dispensing; and the elder *Aratus* having deliver'd his Opinion with a great deal of Liberty and Force, conjuring him earnestly not to contemn his Advice, he was restrain'd by a Sense of Shame; so that taking *Aratus* by the Hand, he cry'd, *Come let's return the same way we came.*

How Antiochus took Sardis by the Help and Courage of a Candiote, named Lagoras.

SEVERAL light Skirmishes happen'd before the Town on both sides continually Night and Day; the Besiegers and Besieged trying and inventing a Thousand new Artifices to surprize each other. It would be tedious and disgusting; as well as useless here, to relate Particulars. In the Issue *Lagoras* put an end to that Siege, after it had continued for above a Year.

This

This Man had a long Experience in the Art of War, and had observ'd that the strongest Cities are taken commonly by the Negligence of the Inhabitants who rely too much on the Natural Strength, or the Fortifications which Art has added, keep a slight Guard, or perhaps none at all. He very well knew that Cities are ordinarily taken by means of these Posts which are reputed strongest, even when it appears impossible to Master them. *Lagoras* seeing every one despair'd of reducing *Sardis* by downright Force, and the utmost Hopes of the Besiegers was to gain it by Famine, bent himself with the greatest Application to find Ways and Means of surprizing it, and discovering that part of the Wall which is next *Serra*, where the Citadel joyns the Town was not guarded. He bent all his Thoughts on that side, having discover'd the Negligence of the Besiegers in this manner. This place being very steep, and at the bottom a great Pit, where the Besieged used to fling their dead Bodies, the Entrails of the Beasts which they killed, all sorts of Carrion; there used to resort a great many Vulturs, and others Birds of Prey.

Lagoras observing that when the Soldiers had, fed themselves, they commonly would light, and sit upon the tops of the Rocks, and the Walls, they perceived that there was no Guard, or any Body there about, for the most part. He was encouraged by this Reflection; He approached the place to view it, and observe how they might fix their Scaling Ladders. He found this might be done with Ease, on one side of the Rocks. I mention'd it, and acquainted the King with this Design.

The King did not neglect the Opportunity which presented itself, and commanded *Lagoras* to undertake what he had proposed. *Lagoras* assured him he would not spare any Pains on his part, desiring he might be assisted by *Theodoras*, (the *Ætolian*), and *Didymus*, Captain of the Guards, both whom he knew, Daring and Brave Fellows Qualities necessary in such an Undertaking.

The King granting his Desire, they consulted together, and resolved to put this Design in Execution. Upon a time, when the Moon-shine set a pretty while before

before Day, and the Time being pitch'd
 on, the Evening before the Execution,
 the Locke Fifteen of the most Robust
 and Bold Fellows they could find in the
 whole Army, to plant the Ladders, and
 scale the Walls. Next, they chose
 Thirty more, who were to stand in
 some Distance, and be ready to them;
 and when the former had got over the
 Walls, these should immediately march
 to the Gate, and both together the
 former within, and these without, con-
 deavour to force thro it.

Besides these Two Thousand Men
 were planted ready behind them, who
 had Orders so soon as the way was
 made to make up to, and fire the
 Place of the Theatre, which stands
 on such Advantageous Grounds, and
 commands both the Citadel and
 Town.

And to prevent any Rumours, becom-
 ing dispersed upon the Account of Spar-
 lecting Soldiers, they pretended the
 King had Intelligence, the Rebels
 had a Design of flinging themselves into
 the Town, and these Preparatives were
 in order to defeat the Attempt, and
 Execution.

Thus

Thus all things being disposed so soon as the Moon was set, *Lagoras* and his Companions took their Ladders and Climbed a certain Rock. When the day appeared, and the Guards on that side were relieved, and the King had assembled all the Army in Battel array, on the place where they used to run their Horses, they suspected nothing, but when they had fixed the Ladders against the Wall, and *Dionysius* began to mount one, and *Lagoras* the other, there was a mighty Noise instantly through the whole Army: The Inhabitants of the City, and the *Achevians* who were in the Citadel, could not discern any thing, the view being hindred by a rising Rock which interposed. But the Kings Army had a plain view of those, who mounting and exposed themselves to the greatest Danger, some admiring at their Courage, others fore-seeing the Event, and all in Suspence between Hope and Fear. The King perceiving the impatience which this Attempt Created in the Army, drew his Forces nearer to the Town, setting down against the Port *Periss*, to conceal from his Men, as well as the Besieged, what he was then about. On the other hand, *Acheus* conceiving all this un-

Book VI. of the WORLD.



usual Disturbance in the Enemies Camp could not be caused by nothing, continued Hesitating sometime, and being ignorant of the Design, was doubtful what Method to resolve on: But *Arillus*, Governour of the Town, not thinking the Enemy able to do him the least prejudice, drew down towards the Gate which *Arriocanus* advanced towards, Commanding some part to Mount the Walls, and others to make a Sally, to Fight and Repulse the Enemy.

In the mean time *Lagoras*, *Theodorus*, *Dionysius*, and their Company having Climbed the Rocks, came to the Gate below and part forced the Bars and Locks, whilst the other kept off the Enemy, who were come down to attack them at the same time upon a signal given those without, made an attempt, and the Gates being forced, the Two Thousand chosen Men who were ready planted without, made themselves Masters of the Place before the Theater.

Upon notice of this those who were planted upon the Walls, and at the Gate *Persis*, to whose assistance *Arillus* was gone, but a moment before marched

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marched back with all haste to oppose
those who first entred.

But the Gate being now open, the King's Men enter'd so fast, as obliged the Enemy to retreat, whom they pursued. In the mean time, another part of the King's Men forced the other Gates, which obliged *Aribasius*, and the Besieged, after some Skirmishing, to secure themselves in the Citadel. *Theodorus* and *Lagoras* fixed all this while in the *Area*, before the *Theatre*, wisely expecting the Event. In the mean time, the Army entring on all sides, soon became Masters of the Town; some killing all they met, others setting Fire to the Houses, and others loading themselves with what Plunder and Booty they could find. This was the manner and means by which the unfortunate *Sardis* was taken, destroyed, and fell into the Hands of *Anachorus*.

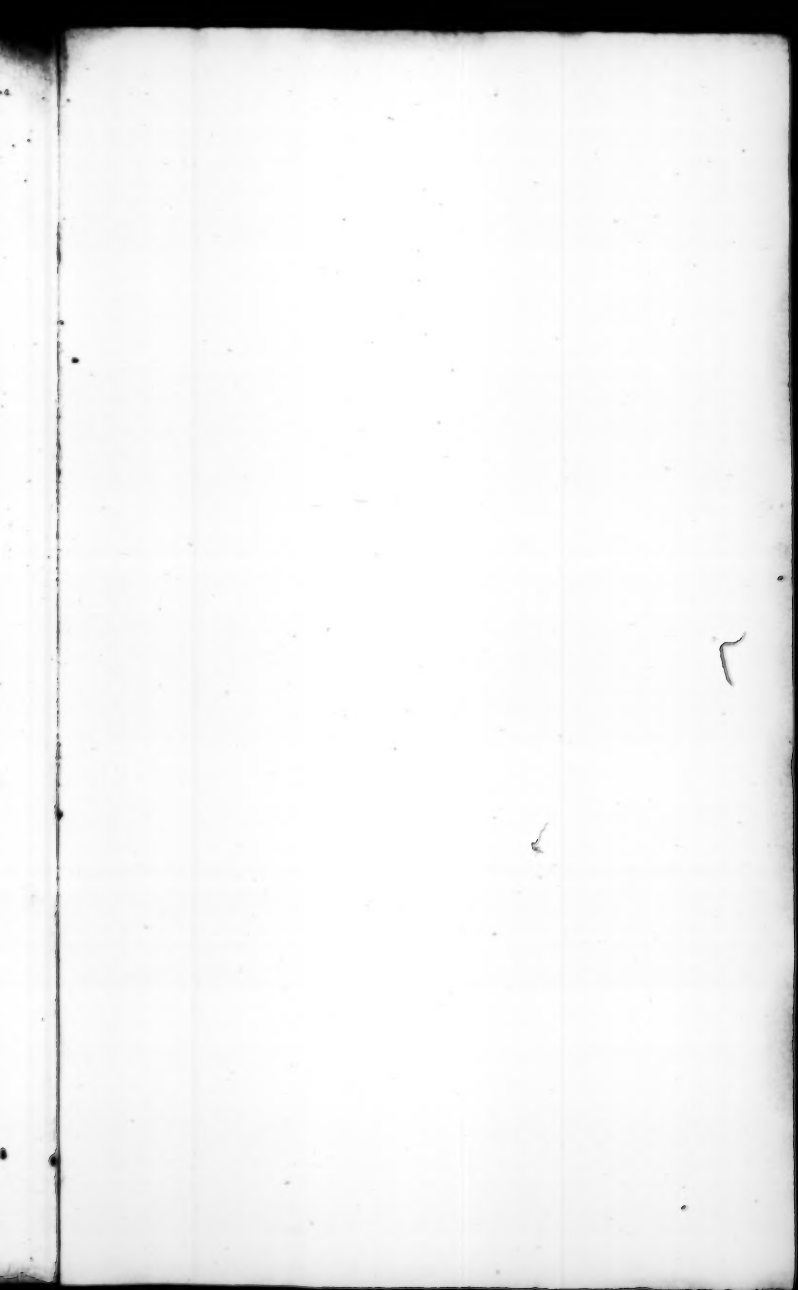
F I N I S.

Marched back with all haste to oppose those who first came.

But the Gate being now open, the King's Men entered to fight, as obliged the Enemy to retreat, whom they pursued. In the mean time, another part of the King's Men forced the other Gates, which obliged the Enemy, and the besieged, after some skirmishing, to secure themselves in the Citadel. The Russians and Tatars fixed all this while in the Area, before the Town, wisely expecting the Event. In the mean time, the Army, coming on all sides, soon became Masters of the Town; some killing all they met, others setting fire to the Houses, and others loading themselves with what plunder and booty they could find. This was the manner and means by which the unfortunate Town was taken, destroyed, and fell into the hands of the

ENEMY.





THE
HISTORY
OF
POLYBIUS
THE
MEGELAPOLITAN.

Containing a

General Account
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WORLD.

VOL. III.

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THE

HISTORY OF

THE

REPUBLIC

OF

THE

UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

BY

POLYBIUS's
General History
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
WORLD.

VOL. III. BOOK VI.

By another Hand.

HE that treats about the *Republics* of the *Gracians*, which rising of a sudden, were as soon destroy'd, and suffer'd a contrary Change of their former Fortune, will find it easie to give a Judgment of

A 2

the

the time to come, by representing what is past already. For every one having a natural Inclination to speak what he knows, it is not difficult to foretel the future, by Conjectures drawn from what has past before. But for the *Roman-Common wealth* it is impossible to take a View of its present State, because of the Diversities that are therein, or foretell any thing in the future, because it cannot be understood either by the general or particular Inclinations of the People. It is therefore necessary to make an exact Enquiry, or a particular Search, if we would understand the fine and excellent Qualities, in which this *Republick* differs from all others. But since those which treat of this Matter with any Art or Method, propose three Forms of *Republicks* or *States*, whereof one is called *Kingly Government*, the other *Aristocracy*, and the third *Democracy*. I suppose I may with Reason enquire whether they speak of these three sorts of *Republicks*, as if there were no other, or as if these were better than any. For my part I think they do equally deceive themselves both in the one and the other, since it is apparent that the best Form of a *Republick* is that which is composed of all the Three. Reason does not only confirm the Truth of this, but Custom and Experience also; And *Lycargus* establish the

Lace

Lacedemonian Republick after this Model. We must confess that there are other sorts of Estates besides, as *Monarchies* and *Tyrannies*; which, tho they seem to have in them something like to Kingly Government, are yet entirely different; and therefore all those which reign alone, usurp the Title of King as much as lies in their Power. There are besides certain *Republicks* who are govern'd by a few, and in Appearance resemble those, where the *best Men of Estates govern*, and yet to speak in a word, are very distant from it; and the same may be said concerning *Democracy*, or the Government of the People.

We shall find by the Particulars which follow, that what is here asserted is nothing but Truth; for we ought not to believe that the Government, where one alone Commands, ought to be called Kingly Government, but that only which is given voluntarily, and where the Authority is not so much obtain'd by Fear or Force, as by Reason & Counsel. Nor ought we to believe that the Name of *Aristocracy* should be given to that Government, where a few Persons rule all; but to that only where the Wisest have the Authority, in consequence of a prudent and regular Election. Nor ought we to give the Name of a *Popular Estate*, or the Go-

vernment of the People, with any Colour of Reason, to a Republick where the People have Power to do what they please, or what they propose; but where they maintain the Religion of their Countrey, Honour the Aged, and Obey the Laws. And at last that only ought to be call'd a *Popular Estate*, where the Republick enjoys the Benefit of many above the rest. Thus it may be said that there is six sorts of *Republicks*. Three of which are well known to all the World, and of which we shall afterwards discourse; and three, which resemble or are like them; the Government of One alone, that of a Few, and that of the Multitude. The first is that *Monarchy*, which establissheth it self without Skill, and as it were by an Instinct of Nature; That which follows, and takes its Birth from it, is *Kingly Government*, when so much Art is advanced as to correct its Faults. But when *Kingly Government* embraceth those Vices which easily ruin it, I call it *Tyranny*, and from the Ruin of these two, *Aristocracy* springs up, which does easily convert it self into *Oligarchy*. But when the Multitude happen to be so far enraged, as to revenge the Injuries of the great Ones, done against them in the time of their Government, a *Popular State* ariseth, or an Authority in the Hands of the People. And at last the
Insolence

Insolence of the People, and the Contempt of the Laws, does create the Rule or Power of the ignorant Multitude. We shall easily find what is here said to be true, if we look into the Beginnings, Births, and Changes of Nations. For after all, he that will understand the Natural Beginnings of every *Republick*, will also understand their Growth, and their most flourishing Estate; the Change and End of every one, when, how it happen'd, and to what sort of State, the Form of the Republick will be reduc'd. This Discourse will particularly agree to the Republick of the *Romans*, because it was founded at first according to the Laws of Nature, and receiv'd its Augmentation from the same Principle.

I deny not but *Plato*, and other Philosophers, have treated with great Accuracy of the Changes of one Republick into another; but since they are understood by few, by Reason of the Prolixity of their *Treatises*, and the Variousness of their *Discourse*, we will endeavour to comprehend in few Words what they have largely writ, as far as the Nature of an *History* will permit and allow, and what shall be necessary for the Information of those that read them. And if any Person will make a general Deduction from those Particulars, we shall afterwards treat of, it will give

a full Satisfaction to those Doubts that may now be made. To what then are we to attribute the Beginnings of *Civil Societies*? And from whence shall we derive their first Original? As often as Men perish'd, either by Inundations, Plagues, or the Sterility of the Earth, which had not only hapned already, but were likely to happen often; their whole Discipline, Customs, and Constitutions, perish'd with them. But when from their Seed, by Succession of time, a Multitude was sprung up, they did as Beasts do, assemble together in Herds and Flocks of each Species, and so strengthen the Feebleness of their Nature, by coming all into one Body. And afterwards, they who were superiour to others by Courage or Strength of Body, obtain'd Power and Command over others. And since we see the same in other Animals, who are not govern'd by Opinion, but the Instinct of pure Nature, we ought to esteem it no otherwise than as the Work of Nature it self. In short, the most Stout and Robust among them; as Bulls, Stags, Wolves, serve them for Conductors and Leaders; and 'tis most probable that Men at first did the same thing when they were got together, and followed those Leaders who had most Courage, and possess'd themselves of what they were capable of effecting, which you may justly

justly call Power. But when afterwards, in Success of Time, these Assemblies became Customary, *Kingly Government* took its Original, and they begun to understand Honesty and Justice, and those things which were contrary to them.

You see now how Republicks begun, and from whence they took their Original. As Male and Female had a Natural Inclination of Love to one another; from thence came Children; and when some of those their Parents had nourish'd and brought up did not render Reciprocal Kindness, but on the contrary, anger'd them both in Words and Actions; 'tis certain that they who saw so rude a Treatment, and knew what Pains and Care Parents had taken, grew angry also themselves. For since Man differs from other Animals by his Understanding and Reason, it is very probable he could not be indifferent to such a Disorder, and so insensible, as other Animals are in the like Case.

And 'tis certain, that all who saw it, did rigorously condemn such a Fault, being apprehensive that the same Mischief might betal themselves. Or if any have deliver'd another out of *Danger*, and instead of *Benefit* receiv'd, should return an *Injury* to him that did it, is it not certain that such a Man would incur the Anger of every Body, as an *Ungrateful Person*, and would

would not every Man Pity his Neighbour so barbarously used, and fear the same for themselves? From hence arose in every Mans Mind a Sense of *Duty*, and the beginning and end of *Justice* Consists in the reflection Men make upon the *Force or Obligation* of this *Duty*.

The same thing happens when a Person not differing from others, either in Habit or Diet, but living after the same manner, without disdaining to speak to the People. And his Successors finding themselves secure with all Provisions necessary for Life, and a great deal more then they have occasion for, suffer themselves to be Transported with *Passions*, and the Excess of the *Goods* they enjoy. And this gives them ground to believe that *Princes* should go more richly Habited then their *Subjects*, and take other kinds of *Pleasures*, That their *Table* should be serv'd with greater *Pomp*, that prohibited Loves are permitted to them, and that none ought to contradict them. And by these and other means, having drawn upon themselves the Hatred and Aversion of the People, *Kingly Government* degenerates into *Tyranny*, and they presently begin to form Designs and *Conspiracies* against them that Govern. Nor are they the worst of the Citizens who fall into these Enterprises, but the most Generous and
Bold

Bold, for such they are, who are least capable to support the Injuries and Injustice of Princes ; And at last, the People having found Leaders, begin also to conspire the Ruin of Kings for the fore-mentioned Reasons. When they have Abolished the Power and Dominion of one Person alone, *Aristocracy* begins, or the Government of the best or richest People, for the People immediately give away the Authority to them, and choosing them for Governours, follow their Conduct, as a Recompence for the Extermination of *Tyrants*. These Men contenting themselves with the Honour of having the Administration of *Publick Affairs* put into their Hands, prefer the *Interest* of the *Publick* above all things, and regard the concerns of it, with the same Care and Affection that they do their own *Particular Affairs*. But when their Children afterwards receiving the Power of their Parents, have neither sense of the mischief, nor Experience of the Equality, or Liberties of the Citizens, but being bred from their Youth up among the Honours of their Fathers, some abandoning themselves to Covetousness, and others to Debauchery and Villany, do at last convert the Government of an *Aristocracy* into an *Oligarchy*. That is, the Government of the best People into the hands of a few,
and

and when they have stirred up the same Passions and Rage of the People, as against Tyrants, they perish as Tyrants.

Whensoever any Person observing the hate and aversion of the People towards them, had the Boldness to put a Check to them, either by Word or Action; The Multitude at the same time Obey'd him, and favour'd his Enterprize. But after they had kil'd some and Banished others, they durst not give up the Republick to the Government of a King, because they were afraid of the same Outrages they had receiv'd from the former, nor to Many, because the Excesses they had been guilty of, were still fresh in their Minds. When therefore, they could hope for nothing better than themselves, they passed the *Government out of a few* into their own Hands, creating a *Democracy* or Popular Estate; And this continues as long as there remains any who are sensible of the Power of a few, and nothing is in greater Veneration among them, then the Equality or Liberty of the Citizen. But after the Death of those, when a new People shall arise, and *Democracy* has pass'd to their Posterity; They begin to disregard Liberty and Equality, because they are accustom'd to it, and ill Minds spare for no efforts, to obtain a Superiority over others. This Vice is very ordinary to
Men

Men of Estates, for when being ambitious after Honour, and withal unable to obtain it either of themselves or by Vertue, they fall to spend their Riches in Feasting and Bounty, and endeavour to Corrupt the People by that means. And after they have gained the Majority by Liberalities which they are all greedy of, and indeed feed upon, the *Democracy* begins to sink, and nothing but *Fury* and *Violence* succeeds in the place of it. For the People, being accustomed to live upon other Mens Goods, and founded their Hopes upon Rapine, having met with a Bold and Courageous Leader, whose Poverty had hindered him from arriving at Publick Offices or Trusts, change the *Popular State* into one *Furious* and *Violent*, and being United into one Body, they demonstrate their Fury by Murders, Banishments, and by the Division of Lands; till such time they meet with some Body that Usurps the Sovereign Rule and Power.

Behold here the Revolution, of States and *Republicks*, Behold here the Natural Order according to which *Republicks* are Chang'd and turn'd back again into their first Being. He that can well Comprehend all this, may perhaps be Deceived as to the time, but provided

vided his Judgement is Impartial, and his Mind disinterested, he will not be much mistaken in the Prognostication of the State, he makes his Observations upon: *Viz.* Whether they are nearer to their Height, or their Ruine, and into what at last they will be Chang'd. As for the *Common-Wealth* of the *Romans* we may see by this means how it was at first *Establisht*, how afterwards *Increased*, and how it came to this most Flourishing Estate we now find it in, and at last the Change which will one day happen to it. For if any Republick be *Establisht* and *Augmented* according to the Laws of Nature, it is chiefly the *Roman*, and will Change some time or other according to the same Method. But what we shall now Treat of, will afterwards give us a clear Light into the Matter.

We shall now speak something of the Laws [made by *Lycurgus*, because this Discourse is not far Remote from our Design. This Great Man had Observ'd that all things happen'd by an Inevitable Law of Nature, and Judged that every Form of a *Republick* which was simple, and had no Subsistence but by one of these kinds, was subject to Change, because it easily falls into Vice, to which it has the most Natural Inclination. For as Rust and the Worm, are Natural to Iron and Wood,

Wood, which do Corrupt and Destroy them, so that if they cannot be Destroyed by things happening from without, they Perish nevertheless by things drawn from themselves. Even so by the Order of Nature, some Vice or other is born in the Form of every State, and always accompanys it, and is at length the occasion of its Ruine, whether it be *Kingly Government*, *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy*, *Oligarchy*, *Democracy*, or the Blind and Furious Power of the Rude Multitude. It is Impossible to hinder the falling of a Commonwealth into those Vices it is Naturally addicted to, and by Consequence to hinder the Change that happens upon them, as we have already said. *Lycurgus* therefore foreseeing all this, did not Establish his Commonwealth according to one single Form, but Assembled all the Virtues and Qualitys of the best sort of *Republicks* into one, to the end that every thing might be so ballanc'd by another, that when one was ready to fall into the Vice which it was most inclined to, the other should retain it at the same time; so that by this means the *Republick* being equally sustain'd, shou'd not incline or bend to any side, but be like a Ship when the Wind equally blows upon her on both sides. The fears which their *Kings* had of the *People*, they being themselves a part of the Government in
this

this *Republick*, hinder'd them from abusing their Power, and the People were hinder'd from committing any Ontrage against their *Kings*, by the Fear of the Magistrates, who always embrac'd the Just Party, because they were promoted into this Rank, by Virtue alone. And this is the Reason why the Magistrates maintain'd their antient Discipline in Strength and Vigor, because the *Senate* always took the weaker part, by which Means the Ballance quickly turn'd on the other side. Thus *Lycurgus* considering both the beginning and end of things, laid the Foundation of the *Lacedemonian Commonwealth* upon so sure a Basis, that it has preserv'd its Liberty longer than any other has ever done.

As for the *Romans*, tho they have arriv'd at the same End, in the establishing of their Commonwealth, they have not done it by the Force of Reason and Discourse. But by choosing that which seem'd to them of most Advantage; and being taught by their own Mistortunes, after many Dangers and Battels, are come up to the height of *Lycurgus* and have settled the finest Form of a Commonwealth that has ever been seen till this present time. It is the Duty of a good Judge to esteem Historians not by what they have forgot, but by what they have

have advanc'd, so that if some things may be found in them which are not true, we must think it done out of Ignorance. But if there be nothing but Truth, we ought to persuade our selves, that what we find neglected, was not done by Ignorance but Reason.

The Three Forms of Republicks we have so often mention'd, Compose, or make up that of the *Romans*, and they do so equally contribute thereunto, and in a manner so proper and convenient to the Establishment and Administration of all things, that the *Romans* themselves cannot tell whether the Entire Body of their State be *Aristocracy*, *Democracy*, or *Kingly Government*. For when we cast our Eyes towards the Power of the Consuls, one would think the Power to be either *Kingly* or *Monarchick*: When we consider the Senate, you would believe it an *Aristocracy*; and if you regard what concerns the People on their part, you would Judge it to be a *Democracy*, and the Rights and Priviledges of each Party are such, whether past, or present, without any great exception.

While the Consuls are in the City they dispose of all things which concern the Publick, 'till such time as their Troops are in the Field. All the other Magistrates depend upon, and obey them, ex-

cept the Tribunes. They give Audience to Ambassadors in the *Senate-House*, and as often as 'tis necessary to deliberate upon any Affair, it is their right to propose it, and to Execute the Ordonnances of the Senate. And besides, they take care of all those Publick Affairs which should be done by the People. It is their *Privilege* to call Assemblies, and to propose what is to be Ordained, and afterwards to Establish the *Laws* according to Majority of the Peoples *Suffrages*. But besides all this, they have almost an Absolute Power in all *Affairs of War*, whether it be for Preparation, Conduct, or Expedition. They have Power to give what Orders they please to the Auxiliary Troops of their Allies, to put in Collonels and Captains, to raise Forces, and Compose their Armies. They can punish, by their sole Authority, all those that bear Arms under them, Pay the Army, and spend what they please out of the *Publick Treasury*, and for that purpose have always a *Questor* along with them, who makes Prompt Payment of all their Orders. So that one may justly say, if we regard this Part of the *Republick*, that the State of the *Romans* depends entirely upon one, and that his Authority is Royal, and Emulates that of a King. But if any one of these, or those we shall mention, have been chang'd
some

some-time after, or at this Day, that makes nothing at all against what we have Asserted.

As for the Senate, they take care of the Publick Treasure, order all the Revenues of the Empire, and all the Expences of the Publick, for the *Questors* cannot dispose of Money, not so much as for the most common use, without an Ordonnance of Senate, except it be done in the Name of the Consuls. The Expences of the Censors for Repair of Publick Edifices, is done by the Authority of the Senate, and they can do nothing without their Order. The Senate takes Cognizance of all the Crimes committed in *Italy*, which deserve publick Punishment, as *Treasons, Conspiracies, Poysonings, Assassinations, &c.* If any particular Person, or any City of *Italy*, have any Quarrel, Difference, or Controversie, or if any want Protection or Succour, the Senate takes care of all that. If Ambassadors are to be sent out of *Italy*, whether it be to Accommodate Differences, make Remonstrances, Command in an Enterprize, or declare War, all this is in the Power and Priviledge of the Senate. When the Ambassadors of Strangers Arrive at *Rome*, it is the Office of the Senate to see their Commissions, take care of their Treatment, and to return an Answer, and the People have no Right at